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An analysis of nature
in three African American autobiographical narratives

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The study of race/ethnicity and leisure has been an area of great interest to researchers since at least the 1970s. Numerous studies have shown that differences exist in the ways people from different racial/ethnic groups participate in outdoor recreation (Floyd, 1998). Most of these studies have found that racial and ethnic minorities (i.e. non-White groups) participate in many outdoor recreation activities at proportionally lower levels than do Whites. However, many of these studies have not examined the socio-cultural history of the relationship between race and nature. In this study we analyzed narrative and historical autobiographical accounts of African Americans from the three major racial eras in United States history in order to examine African Americans' relationship with nature over time. The slavery era is examined through Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass: An American Slave by Frederick Douglass (written in 1845); the Jim Crow segregation era is examined through Darkwater: Voices from Within the Veil by W. E. B. DuBois (originally published in 1920); and the contemporary era is examined through Mississippi Solo by Eddy Harris (published in 1988). Each of these works allows a glimpse into the relationship of the author with nature and outdoor recreation. The authors of each book shared a reverence for and a fear of nature, while each encountered nature in unique and different ways. Taken together, the three works offer us a deep and expansive glimpse into the complicated relationship between the wild places of our country and African American people.

According to Johnson (1998), African Americans in the South have less place attachment to outdoor places than do Whites. One of the reasons for this is that African Americans' "collective memory" of wild places is that of slavery, Jim Crow, and lynching. In order to bring about more diversity in those who take part in outdoor recreation, we must understand the deep historical roots of why more non-Whites have eschewed outdoor environments. The social context for which non-participation occurs is crucial. Outdoor recreation participation by any person, regardless of race, requires that many things happen in that person's life before he or she visits a natural area. For African Americans and other minorities, multiple barriers must be overcome due to layers of social and economic oppression. This marginalization comes in direct forms (e.g., segregated swimming pools) and indirect forms (e.g., impoverishment leading to lack of resources for outdoor

recreation). To say simply that Blacks and other non-Whites do not participate because they cannot afford associated costs or because members of their social world do not enjoy these activities is to ignore nearly 400 years of racial oppression. The problem of disparate participation is not an anomaly; it is a symptom of the larger social situation in our country where Blacks and Hispanics are seeing a widening wealth gap (White & Henderson, 2004) among other worsening social problems. For outdoor recreation to be relevant and available larger social issues must be recognized and addressed. At the same time, providers must seek ways to reach out to minority populations despite social constraints.

A useful exercise toward this end would be to examine the lives of individual African Americans and their relationships to nature. One way we can do this is through analysis of autobiographical narratives. In his book about systemic

racism, Joe Feagin (2006) used analyses of historical figures, both White and Black, from each of what he described as the three racial periods in United States history: antebellum slavery, Jim Crow segregation, and contemporary racial relations. By analyzing figures from each of these eras, Feagin was able to outline how a systemic racist system has been perpetuated through time and how it has affected individuals and institutions. In the same way, an analysis of African Americans' relationship to nature through autobiographical narratives can provide us with insight into how nature may have been construed by African Americans over time.

The three periods identified by Feagin (2006) form three very distinct socio-political epochs, with different laws, standards of behavior, racial relationships, and racial identities. The slavery era in the United States began in 1619 when 20 Africans aboard a Dutch ship landed at Jamestown. The Africans were put to work under White owners (Feagin). Over the next three centuries upwards of 12 million African people were transported to the Americas for the purpose of slavery (Segal, 1995). The relationship between enslaved Africans and their European owners were "asymmetrical and hierarchical" (Feagin, p. 54) and the system of hierarchy was institutionalized into every facet of existence. By the time of the United States founding, slavery was a contentious issue, but it persisted legally through the 19th century until it was abolished by the 13th Amendment in 1865.

The period of legal segregation that followed abolition of slavery continued the hierarchical relationship between African Americans and Whites. This period, which lasted from the end of the 19th century through most of the 20th century, subjected African Americans to a severely restricted existence in society. According to Feagin (2006), African Americans faced discrimination in "an array of institutional areas, including employment, housing, education, politics, policing, public accommodations, religion, medical and health care facilities, social services, and recreation" (p. 125). This multi-faceted institutional discrimination formed the backbone of society for African Americans who lived in this era.

As the 20th century unfolded and its two World Wars placed America in a

prominent position in the rest of the World, pressure to deal with the blight of segregation grew (DuBois, 1995; Feagin, 2006). Civil rights legislation finally made its way through Congress officially ending legalized segregation in the United States. For many, this falsely marked the end of racial difficulties for African Americans. The reality of African Americans' experiences in this contemporary era reveals the difficulties of a society that was founded with a hierarchical system placing African Americans at the bottom. Disparities in many of the areas mentioned by Feagin still act to make life difficult for African Americans. The context of each of these three eras is important to understand before evaluating each autobiography for revelations about interactions with nature.

Three autobiographies spanning each of the major eras of African American relations in the United States were selected for analysis. The slavery era is examined through *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass: An American Slave* by Frederick Douglass (written in 1845); the Jim Crow segregation era is examined through *Darkwater: Voices from Within the Veil* by W. E. B. DuBois (originally published in 1920); and the contemporary era is examined through *Mississippi Solo* by Eddy Harris (published in 1988). These three works serve as portraits of life in the three major eras of racial stratification in this country. Each is examined from a systemic racism perspective and examples pertaining to nature and recreation and nature are highlighted.

Autobiographical analysis has been conducted in leisure studies within the context of a poststructuralist feminist analysis of dystopian fiction (Daniels & Bowen, 2003). However, we could find no analyses of historical biographical accounts regarding leisure or the outdoors analyzed from the perspective of systemic racism. An example of this type of analysis can be found in Vera and Gordon's (2003) *Screen Saviors: Hollywood Fictions of Whiteness*. In this book, the authors examined portrayals of Whiteness in popular Hollywood films. In a similar analysis, we examined the ways in which the experiences of Douglass, DuBois, and Harris impacted their relationship to nature and leisure. It is important to keep in mind the larger socio-cultural context of racism within each era. Interactions with and held meanings of nature are not created in a vacuum. The meaning of nature for these authors is shaped in part by their cultural milieu.

Frederick Douglass and the Ambivalent Woods

For Frederick Douglass, born into slavery in Maryland somewhere around 1818, nature seemed to mean a number of different things over the course of his life, as he served different slave masters, both in the city and on the plantation, and finally as a free man. Douglass' account of his life as a slave is one of a very select group of slave autobiographies. It is accepted as one of the best examples of the slave narrative and certainly is a classic American autobiography (Wilson & Ferris, 1989). Douglass, who escaped from slavery when he was 20 years old, became a prominent abolitionist and wrote passionately against slavery for numerous newspapers. He became so well known that he served as an advisor to President Abraham Lincoln (Wilson & Ferris). Douglass lived to see slavery abolished and turned his efforts against legal segregation. He died in 1895.

One of the first mentions of nature in *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass: An American Slave* (1845/1968) is when Douglass talked about the separation of field and house slaves, or those who worked in "The Great Farm House." Douglass likened sending a slave to the farm house for an errand to the election of Congressional representatives. Douglass noted, "few privileges were esteemed higher" (p. 28). This no doubt stemmed from the severity of treatment he received in the fields. Douglass described in detail the treatment he received from numerous overseers he slaved under. His first overseer, aptly named Mr. Severe, would use a large hickory stick and heavy cow skin to intimidate those who might miss the morning call to the field. Douglass recalls seeing this man beat a woman "until the blood ran half an hour at the time" (p. 27). But Douglass made the point that *the field* is where Mr. Severe's cruelty and profanity were witnessed. The connection between the fields and the overseer's whip, the symbolic and literal manifestation of slavery's cruelty, is a key theme throughout Douglass' narrative. He made the connection early on between the house slave and the field slave, but later when Douglass was moved from the fields to the home of Mr. and Mrs. Auld in Baltimore, he again emphasized that the city slave "enjoys privileges altogether unknown to the slave on the plantation" (p. 48). Indeed, Douglass attributed his selection from the fields to go to Baltimore as a sort of "kind providence" that led to his eventual freedom. The move to the city, along with better circumstances permitted to slaves there, laid the groundwork for hope that allowed Douglass to persevere through his time in slavery and later attempt a bid for freedom.

While forced labor in the fields created distaste for the land among enslaved Black people, they held other sentiments toward the land as well. The land provided food for Douglass and his fellow slaves, but this provision was not without costs. Douglass spoke of the days of summer, when slaves would steal fruit from the master's gardens to supplement their rations only to face the whip if discovered. Additionally, Douglass told of fellow slaves fishing for oysters during free time in order to make up for "the deficiency of their scanty allowance" (p. 40). These attempts to seek from the land provisions beyond what the slave masters provided represent an innate knowledge that the land and sea can provide, and that there is a connection between nature and man. The only other positive notions that Douglass expressed about nature revolved around the idea of leisure, something slaves of Douglass' era did not often enjoy. Sunday was typically the only day when slaves did not work through every minute of daylight, but even then, the activities they were allowed to pursue were limited. Douglass spoke of how he felt on most Sundays as he spent his time "in a beast-like stupor, between sleep and wake, under some large tree" (p. 73). At some moments he felt a glimmer of hope about his situation, only to have the hope dashed by the realization of his "wretched condition." He recalled standing on the banks of nearby Chesapeake Bay, wishing that he could be on one of the passing ships. For him, these vessels were the embodiment of freedom.

Beyond Sundays Douglass mentioned that slaves typically were given the time between Christmas and New Year's Day as a holiday. Leisure activities varied during this time. Industrious people made items useful to their work, while others hunted small varmints. Slaves were allowed to participate in "sports and merriment" such as playing ball, foot races, and drinking whiskey. While it is assumed that all these activities occurred in the out-of-doors, hunting activities are of particular note. Douglass does not go into detail, but the fact that some slaves spent their time hunting on their only significant break of the year seems to indicate some connection between nature and leisure. However, this "vacation" was not without an ulterior purpose. Masters knew that allowing slaves this leisure time was "the most effective means in the hands of the slaveholder in keeping down the spirit of insurrection" (p. 82). Douglass construed this holiday as a sort of opiate thereby curbing the slaves' desire to escape. This

use of leisure (and by proxy, nature) by a master to subdue thoughts of escape, seems to have sullied Douglass towards the "gift" of having this leisure time.

Douglass' dread of nature went beyond his experiences working the land. After an incident with unruly oxen, Douglass found himself alone in the woods in an unfamiliar place. His feelings of peril and danger subsided only after he was able to extricate himself from *the woods*. Later in Douglass' life, as the deep yearnings for freedom started to overwhelm him, he toiled in the fields under a man named Mr. Covey. One of Mr. Covey's tactics was to hide on the edge of the fields in the woods, making sure that the slaves stayed on task and waiting for possible escapees. The possibility of Covey hiding "under every tree, behind every stump, in every bush" (p. 71) was a constant source of stress. The woods were seen as a place that was both the path to freedom (i.e. escaping through the woods) and a place replete with fear.

While the narrative of Douglass' life did not center on his relationship with nature, there are components that speak to how Douglass may have perceived the natural world around him, both in the fields and surrounding woods. There is a distinct ambivalence between the opportunities for leisure and relaxation in nature contrasted with danger and forced labor found there as well. Douglass' relationship is expressed in his notions of fear and sometimes reverence or yearning towards nature. This ambivalence towards nature as it relates to slavery can be seen as well in Johnson's writing (1998) when she discussed the collective memory of African Americans towards wildlands. Douglass' experiences gave a sort of beginning point for those memories of forced labor, sharecropping, and racial violence. At the same time, African Americans became knowledgeable stewards of the rural landscape and nature provided some respite from the harsh world of slavery. With the Douglass account of slavery and its ambivalent notions of nature, we can trace the memories discussed by Johnson back to the experience of slavery.

DuBois and the Wilderness Ethic

Why do not those who are scarred in the world's battle and hurt by its hardness travel to these places of beauty and drown themselves in the utter joy of life? (DuBois, 1920/2003, p. 229)

The question that W. E. B. DuBois confronted in "Of Beauty and Death" is one with which environmental scholars have struggled through the ages. DuBois (1868-1963) was a prominent sociologist, civil rights activist, and author. He was the first African American graduate of Harvard, earning a PhD in history in 1895. DuBois' best known works include *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903), *The Philadelphia Negro* (1899), and *John Brown* (1909). DuBois helped found the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909 (Lewis, 1994).

Darkwater (1920/2003), a collection of essays, socio-political analyses, and poems, contains many of the classic works that brought DuBois to prominence as a social scientist. The question asked in "Of Beauty and Death" is a pertinent, yet curious, question for DuBois to be asking. Although many people are attracted to "places of beauty" for solace from the cruel world, a small proportion of the solace seekers have been African American. DuBois described what has been called the wilderness ethic or wilderness ideal (see Nash, 1982), which is essentially the idea that wilderness has the power to heal and transform human suffering. This idea is not new, nor was it new when DuBois pondered the African American disconnection. The idea of wilderness is one that largely has been discussed by White Americans and Europeans. DuBois held his encounters with wild areas in high esteem. In his rich description of the area around Bar Harbor, Maine, he said, "God molded his world largely and mightily off this marvelous coast and meant that in the tired days of life men should come and worship here and renew their spirit" (p. 228). DuBois clearly encapsulated the ideals of the modern wilderness movement even though most minorities would not be part of debates in the late 1950s and 1960s (Taylor, 1997).

DuBois aptly contradicted the beauty and mystery of the natural world with the wretchedness of life as a Black person during the period of legal segregation. Following his description of the remote coastal town of Bar Harbor, DuBois relayed a conversation he had with a group of Black people in a "Southern home." The conversation centered on travel, travel perhaps to a soul-restoring place like Bar Harbor. To these Black people from the South, however, travel did not seem so appealing. "Did you ever see a 'Jim-Crow' waiting room?" (p. 229). The question is rhetorical. The reality of segregated train travel was less than inspiring as there was no heat or air in "colored" section of the train station. The train car itself would usually be a "smoker" car where riders would have to pass through White smokers and be subjected to sneers and stares. Service for Black riders was poor, if available at all. Most "colored" cars were extremely dirty. The physical conditions, no matter how bad, never compared to the humiliation and degradation of being considered less than human. "'No' said the little lady in the corner…We don't travel much'" (p. 230).

DuBois continues his pattern of contrast by discussing the plight of the American Negro in the U.S. Army during World War I. "From such heights of holiness men turn to master the world" (p. 232). Black Americans felt the call to fight in the Great War, but when they answered it, they were segregated into separate units and sometimes drafted for labor. The war effort would not have been the same without the contributions of African Americans. DuBois points this out along with the fact that many Whites would not fight beside Blacks, even when their battle readiness was proven. Amidst the turmoil of WWI there were riots in St. Louis and Houston where numerous Black soldiers were executed or imprisoned.

DuBois transitioned here to express his love for the Grand Canyon, and described this natural wonder as the "one thing that lived and will live eternal in my soul" (p. 237). For DuBois, the Grand Canyon represented something eternal, something which held the imprint of God. The expansiveness of the Canyon, it seems, provided him with some perspective on the atrocities committed against him and his people. It's as if he is saying "maybe, just maybe there is something else out there, something that provides a basis for hope." If the natural world is so grand, majestic, and beautiful, then maybe humanity could be someday as well. After describing the eternal void of the canyon, he described a place where hope has been found, where a "community of kindred souls" (p. 239) lives and where the racial hatred of America was nonexistent. This place was Paris, 1919, a place where Black and White people could "laugh and joke and think as friends" (p. 239).

The back and forth manner of this chapter reflects a similar contrast in our world today. African Americans are oppressed by forces both current and historical. Our wild and beautiful natural areas are still there, waiting to be experienced, waiting to heal, and welcome the oppressed. Due to the taint of destructive oppression and subjugation, however, many Blacks do not realize the power of such places, nor do they have the means to journey to them. DuBois clearly had a connection to the powerful natural places of this country. The

contrasting descriptions offered in "Of Beauty and Death" reveal his belief in the healing and mending power of nature, even in the face of brutal oppression. Unlocking this connection for today's generation of African Americans could be tremendously powerful for healing the hurts that still deeply affect so many people.

Eddy Harris' Mississippi Voyage

Unlike Douglass' narrative, and to some extent DuBois' essay, Eddy Harris' *Mississippi Solo* (1988) is unreservedly about the experience of a Black man in nature. To be more precise, this book is about a man encountering nature, while at the same time trying to come to grips with his own "Blackness" and what that means in the United States. The experiences Harris recounted in the memoir are rich. He reflected on the beauty of nature, nuances of being Black, intensity of solitude, and exhilaration of physical endurance. Eddy Harris is an author who grew up in New York City's Harlem neighborhood before moving to Missouri. Harris' works focus on the Black experience in varying places across the globe. He currently resides in Paris, France.

Harris was not an expert canoeist as he began his journey down the Mississippi River, from its origins in Northern Minnesota to its terminus in the Gulf of Mexico. He learned as he went. This inexperience is, in part, a piece of his struggle with the river and inherent fear of the currents, rapids, winds, and barges. Likewise, Harris struggled with the social dimensions of the river, a river that "is laden with the burdens of a nation" (p. 1). His account reflects the same ambivalence towards nature as Douglass and DuBois. Throughout the book he reflects on the various dangers of the river as well as the joys of being on the river. Most of Harris' peers and family discounted his desires to travel down the river, thinking him a bit insane. One friend summed up their concerns about the river and human nature. "Maybe they don't want you to get shot by some redneck in the woods. Maybe they don't want you to fall in and drown" (p. 8). Despite the detractions of his friends and his low level of canoeing skill, Harris "ached" to be on the river. Eventually, he found himself at the headwaters with a canoe full of camping gear. In this he exhibited resistance to stereotypes, fear (in numerous facets), and peer pressure.

Harris reflected on the history of the river wondering how it would come to bear on his journey as "a black man alone and exposed and vulnerable" (p. 7). When he envisioned the river, he saw it flowing with the "tears and sweat" of slaves. Harris did not dwell too long on these notions for he had an adventure to experience. He was keenly aware, however, that the river passed through various regions of the country that had different meanings toward and relationships with Black people. As his friend and mentor Robert put it, he traveled "from where there ain't no Black folks to where they still don't like us much" (p. 7). Being Black for Harris "has never been such a big deal, more a physical characteristic rather like being tall: an identifier for the police and such. Part of my identity, but not who I am" (p. 13). He hoped people would treat him with kindness despite his skin color and lack of experience on the river. In light of these colorblind dreams, he acknowledged that being Black took on new meaning during his river trip shaping how he perceived situations and how others perceived him.

Before he began his trip, Harris contemplated the lack of Black tourists in Minnesota and the fact that "there are places blacks don't much go to" (p. 14). He suggested some of the reasons might include financial constraints, apathy, and lack of targeted advertising. In the end he was left with the question, "Is the exclusion self-imposed or by hints both subtle and overt?" (p. 14). Since Harris was raised mainly in the post-civil rights era, this distinction between self-imposed and societal-imposed restrictions arose frequently. Harris concluded that "the only restrictions are the ones I (we all) put in place" (p. 14). His reflection tapped into a colorblind ideology that affirms everyone's chances to succeed. Regardless of this declaration of individual rights, Harris understood the potentially perilous and nuanced way a Black person interacts with the world.

> But for all my boldness and my reaching out to embrace the world, what would be waiting for me out there on the river? Kindness or evil? Beauty or savagery? Whatever, I didn't want to miss a thing. The ups days would make up for the down, I knew; the beauty worth the pain. (p. 15)

With this, Harris started down the river.

One common theme throughout the memoir was Harris' curiosity about the various people he encountered from food store clerks to tug boat operators to people he passes on the riverbanks. He wondered what impression they would have of him and decided that they looked at him mostly as "a bit on the loony side" (p. 21). In time, the nature of the river and its solitude gripped and changed him. This trip was a bold foray into the world of nature, and Harris was enthralled. His desire to be recognized for his accomplishments may have been a reflection of his somewhat novice status as well as his racial status as a Black man. Harris mused that people stared because he was an odd site with his life preserver and gear or that Black people were a rarity in town. Either way, he was faced with the burden of being out of place.

Harris expounded more on the idea of racial identity and racism as he passed through a town in Wisconsin. He reiterated that he "would not make my being black a part of my success or failure or too great a factor in how I perceive things" (p. 67). This perception influenced his life in subtle and sometimes not so subtle ways. His knew racism existed but felt "its effect and effectiveness depend as much on reaction as on the action" (p. 69). In this regard, he was at odds with many other Blacks. A clear example of this was when Harris entered into a conversation with a White insurance salesman in a local diner. The salesman joked that Harris should wear a jacket with "River Nigger" (p. 70) on it, laughing loudly. Rather than become angry Harris continued to converse with the salesman. Eventually, they shared a genuine moment of reflection and the salesman expressed regret for his actions. Harris mused about giving people the opportunity to "carve at the core of American racism that lies inside if given the chance" (p. 73).

Harris' journey from Lake Itasca in Minnesota to his home in Saint Louis, Missouri, passed with only minor incidents and little in the way of racial interactions beyond the aforementioned racist joke. Harris noted frequently, that aside from an odd stare, most people were kind and helpful to him. As he pulled into Saint Louis for a short respite he looked forward to the balance of his trip where the river was wider, swifter, and free of locks to negotiate. He spoke of "ghosts" waiting for him and images of the South that "die hard" including slavery, lynching, and segregation. He felt exposed and vulnerable, wondering how much his positive, colorblind attitude would protect him, but took solace in the river and the "ghosts" there to protect him.

For a short while Harris picked up a co-traveler, his older brother Tommy. Tommy was an unlikely companion since he had a deep fear of sleeping on the ground with bugs and snakes. After the first miserable night (for Tommy), Eddy questioned why their father did not make campers out of them. It seemed that Tommy's fears echoed the larger Black

communities' distaste for intimate contact with nature. This pairing lasted only a few days, and Eddy became more appreciative of the solitude he had enjoyed previously.

After Tommy's departure, Harris progressed further into the South. Harris' experiences embodied the ambivalent and contradictory nature of American race relations. For example, Harris developed an unlikely friendship with a tugboat driver named Don despite the fact that he used the "N-word" frequently in conversation. Don invited Harris to ride on the tugboat and fed him along the way. Over the course of a few days, their relationship grew to the point where Don shared personal secrets with Harris. The conversation at one point turned to inter-racial relationships, with Don suggesting that such a relationship would be allowable for a Black woman and a White man, but not vice-versa. Harris did not question or challenge this opinion, but instead allowed Don to continue his sentiments. When the two parted ways, Harris truly considered Don his friend.

This relationship was in stark contrast to the most harrowing experience of the trip. While building a campfire in Arkansas, two "greasy rednecks" (p. 206) with shotguns approached Harris menacingly. They harassed him, called him "boy," and made veiled threats. Harris, who had carried a pistol the whole trip, escaped to woods, and had to fire a warning shot to prevent their pursuit. As soon as he was confident they were gone, he broke camp and spent a restless night searching for more secure shelter. Eventually, he broke into a summer cabin so he could feel safe. He debated whether or not to end his trip prematurely but decided to continue on regardless of his fears. In the end, the river afforded him adventure, solitude, beauty, and moments to reflect on his place in the universe. These enriching facets of his journey define his experience on the river.

Harris' narrative focused on the many ways a Black man experiences nature, which are inherently different from those of a White man. Consistent with the works of Douglass and DuBois, Harris demonstrated ambivalence towards being in nature. Harris' love for nature was palpable. He was enthralled by bends and twists in the river and the way rapids "sing." His attitude was conducive to adventure and enduring uncomfortable situations but did not protect him from racial intolerance. His perceptions of race allowed him to resist incidents that might be intolerable for others or turn them into positive experiences. This interplay between race, nature, and personality provide a rich picture of a contemporary Black man's relationship with the outdoors.

Discussion

The analysis of these works, which follow experiences of three African Americans during different eras, reflects some of the factors that may inhibit African Americans' participation in outdoor recreation. For Frederick Douglass, the root of collective memory is found in his interactions with nature. These interactions were facilitated through the institution of slavery via cruel overseers and harsh labor in the fields. Douglass did not feel the woods' powerful draw as the others; at least no evidence for such an attraction was apparent in this narrative. The woods were places associated primarily with the overseer's whip. Douglass' experiences as a slave served to embody the stories that hundreds of thousands of Black families have related to subsequent generations. Cassandra Johnson (1998) spoke of these associations in her discussion of African Americans' collective memory of wildland places. It remains one of few studies that examine the socio-historical influences on African Americans perceptions of wildland. As Johnson stated, "these 'memories' are retained by younger African Americans and become a part of their collective identities" (p. 6). Johnson cited slave labor, sharecropping, and lynching as factors that entered into the collective memory of Blacks' experiences with the land. Douglass' narratives, which spoke of both slave labor and of lynching, serve as an intimate window into the emotional, psychological, spiritual, and physical costs of such practices. These deep impacts are difficult for subsequent generations to overcome. The fact that an affinity for nature has not become a part of most African American communities is a side effect of the larger picture of oppression.

For DuBois, contradictory images of White and Black were commonplace in the era of segregation. He contrasted nature's opposing potential as a rejuvenating power with dark places representing oppression. To escape nature indicated progress, one step beyond the land labor of slavery. At the same time, nature held within it a healing balm for the oppression that weighed so heavily. DuBois clearly articulated the romantic view of nature embodied by the wilderness movement of the later 20th century but understood the ambivalent feelings of most African Americans towards nature. He realized that the wilderness ideal is wrapped within the context of the American cultural ethos, that it is an actor in the centuries-old drama between White and Black. He did not encounter wilderness outside of this context as he was firmly connected to it. However, he had a vision for how nature could rise above social context and race and provide transcendental joy.

The work of contemporary novelist Eddy Harris reflected a resistance to racial stereotypes and peer pressure. The misgivings of his friends and family represented his subculture, one that did not have room for prolonged wilderness adventures. While Harris did not discuss his socio-economic background extensively, he shared some of the collective memories of lynching and sharecropping particularly in the South. His interactions in predominately White spaces produced feelings of alienation and, in some cases, fear. His ability to overcome these obstacles demonstrated the ability to use leisure as a form of resistance (Shaw, 2001). He conquered stereotypes of Black people, namely that they do not canoe down the Mississippi River. At the same time, he questioned why more people do not challenge themselves within nature. This type of resistance to personal inhibitions could be a key element for attracting people to outdoor pursuits.

Through the experiences of Douglass, DuBois, and Harris, we gain a rich historical perspective on the relationship between African Americans and nature. Douglass' account of life during slavery served as the basis for the collective memories of African Americans. As the larger ethos surrounding wilderness evolved and matured, W. E. B. Dubois astutely recognized the redemptive potential of natural places in the face of segregation. The positive experiences, perseverance, and open mind of Eddy Harris serve as examples of what may be necessary for prolonged African American participation in outdoor recreation. Taken together, the three narratives offer us a deep and wide glimpse into the complicated relationship between wild places and African American people.

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Truck & Tractor Pulls:
Plowing into the Future of Recreation, Leisure, & Tourism

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With a fan base of over 1.4 million direct and an additional 28 million enthusiasts through various media capacities, truck and tractor pulling is a growing leisure activity. More than just an event, truck and tractor pulling have evolved into a recreation experience with fans spending a considerable amount of time and money engaging in other activities beyond the pull. The purpose of this study was to acquire information from attendees to better understand large events, such as a truck and tractor pulls. Research indicated that many truck and tractor pull fans rely on positive and negative word of mouth to make the decision to attend. This study of a large recreation event will further assist professionals in the field of recreation, leisure, and tourism as they continue to understand the characteristics of successful event experiences.

Truck and tractor pulling has evolved into a heavily attended major motor sport in the United States and abroad; however, little research has been conducted on this growing leisure activity. The purpose of this study was to acquire information from attendees to better understand large events, such as a truck and tractor pull. Information was gathered from attendees at the Wisconsin Dairyland Super National Tractor Pull hosted by the Monroe Country Agricultural Society in Tomah, Wisconsin, sanctioned by the National Tractor Pullers Association (NTPA). The objective of truck and tractor pulling is to find the strongest machine and the best driver. Each truck and tractor driver attempts to pull a progressive load of weight as far as possible down a dirt track. Different to every other motor sport in the world, it is not about the fastest driver and speed is of minor concern.

Growing Popularity of Truck & Tractor Pulling

There are many associations sanctioning pulling events; yet, the NTPA alone conducts over 250 truck and tractor pulling events each year. A pulling event may have up to six pull sessions over a weekend, sometimes with two pull sessions per day. One pull session is a single show with average attendance from 3,000 to 5,000 people. Several weekend pulling events have 10,000 or more people per pull session ("Demographics," 2008).

In addition to live attendance, up to 28 million people watch the sport on TV or follow pulling through various magazine publications, such as *The Puller*, *Full Pull*, *The Hook*, and *Tractor Pulling* ("Demographics," 2008). Thousands of people tune in weekly to watch the sport on ESPN and Rural Free Delivery TV (RFD-TV), which is a United States satellite and cable television channel devoted to 24 hours of rural issues, concerns, and interests ("RFD-TV", 2008). Millions of people have access to a total of 208 airings (four times per week) of the "NTPA Championship Pulling Series" which is dedicated to this sport ("Demographics," 2008). Various tractors from pulling events also appeared on the History Channel's program *Modern Marvels* 12th season episode "World's Strongest" and Discovery Network's Travel Channel show *Kings of the Road* episode "Tractor Pull Showdown" ("National Tractor Pullers Association," 2008).

The NTPA also reaches fans through print media by publishing *The Puller* magazine, America's most popular monthly pulling publication. *The Puller* has a circulation rate of approximately 10,000 people and is available in over 650 Tractor Supply Company (TSC) stores across the country. *The Puller* magazine sales doubled and are close to tripling since it first became available in TSC stores in June 2005. *The Puller* passes through a minimum of at least two to three people's

hands for every issue distributed ("NTPA advertising & marketing opportunities," 2008).

This huge pulling fan base through various media capacities stretches from the East Coast to the West Coast and everywhere in between. But truck and tractor pulling is especially popular in the region known as the Heartland of America, the farmland country of the Midwest where this study was conducted. And this was where pulling grew from humble beginnings.

History of Truck and Tractor Pulling

In the late 1800s, farm animals were utilized to pull plows and wagons (Ashcroft, 1993; Grimm, 1988; Savage, 2000; Webb, 2004). Farmers occasionally held contests to see whose horse or oxen could pull the heaviest rock the farthest. Then, in the early 1900s, machines replaced the animals and tractors were used to plow the fields (Ashcroft, 1993; Grimm, 1988; Savage, 2000; Webb, 2004). The stronger the tractor, the faster and deeper the plow could go. Farmers proudly displayed their new machinery at local county fairgrounds and picnics and engaged one another in various pulling competitions. These informal events were entertaining to farmers and onlookers alike.

It was not until 1929, however, that the first tractor pulling contests known as "tug pulls" were officially organized in Bowling Green, Missouri and Vaughnsville, Ohio (Ashcroft, 1993; Grimm, 1988; Savage, 2000; Webb, 2004). In a "tug pull", a sheet of steel was loaded with rocks, sandbags, concrete slabs, or other heavy objects and then hitched to the back of a tractor. If the tractor could pull the weight ten feet, it would qualify for the next round. If not, it was out of the contest. For the next round, more heavy objects were loaded onto the steel sheet. The competition continued for as many rounds as it took until only one tractor remained that could pull the weight ten feet. The tractor was declared the champion.

In the 1960s, the steel sheet replaced a step-on sled (Ashcroft, 1993; Bargo, 1988; Grimm, 1988; Savage, 2000; Webb, 2004). Men lined up along the track approximately ten feet apart. Then, as the tractor came down the track, the men

stepped onto the sled, one by one, adding their weight to it instead of piling on heavy objects as in the past. More men stepped onto the sled as the tractor continued down the track until finally it could no longer haul the weight and came to a stop. The tractor that traveled the farthest was declared the winner.

During this time, drivers also competed in pulling contests with their trucks using the step-on sled. The biggest difference between trucks and tractors was that truck pullers were allowed only one engine. Today, truck and tractor pullers have a limit on the number of engines allowed (up to six engines) and weight (6,000-10,000 pounds) depending on the class of competition within the sanctioning association (G. Randall, personal communication, February 18, 2009). As a result of the massive horsepower engines (1,000-12,000 depending on class) in trucks and tractors, a great amount of noise was generated.

Because of the noise, many fans began to wear earplugs during the event (G. Randall, personal communication, February 18, 2009). As much noise as a rock concert is generated with some tractor divisions, but the blasts are only 15-20 seconds long; therefore, it does not violate any noise standards (G. Randall, personal communication, February 18, 2009). Regardless of the noise generated, drivers continued to improve their engines by adding more horsepower. Once this horsepower had been added, the tractor's primary job was to pull things; it could no longer cultivate corn, plow a furrow, or even bush-hog a field.

By the 1970s, tractors and trucks were so powerful that the step-on sled was difficult and hazardous for men to step on because of the speed generated (Ashcroft, 1993; Grimm, 1988; Savage, 2000; Webb, 2004). Using a step-on sled was a good way to get fans involved in the pull, but it lacked precision. Sometimes people wandered off for various reasons and had to be replaced, always by someone a bit stouter or thinner, thereby casting doubt on the results and leading to arguments. If a friend was pulling, a man was likely to stand on the very back edge of the sled to ease friction. A less popular puller might find everyone crowded forward trying to get the sled to dig into the track. The sport also needed a more objective, scientific measure of pulling power. A new sled was created that still is used today.

The sled pulled by trucks and tractors today is an example of progress in the sport of pulling. It is a device known as a 'weight transfer machine' that looks a lot like a truck trailer with an estimated price of $150,000 (G. Randall, personal communication, February 18, 2009). It is a long flat bed with tires in the back. In the front of the sled is a piece of steel known as a "skid plate". Up to 35,000 pounds of weight are over the rear tires at the start of the pull, and there is no pressure on the skid plate up front because it is off the ground (G. Randall, personal communication, February 18, 2009). As the sled is pulled forward, the weights are automatically moved forward up the long flatbed toward the front. With more and more weight coming toward it, the steel plate sinks lower until finally it skids along the ground. As the truck or tractor works to overcome the resistance, the skid plate sinks deeper into the ground. It takes a powerful vehicle to reach the finish line hauling all that weight and a steel skid plate digging into the ground.

Along with a certified sled, the officials at a pulling event make the track even and uniform for everybody, from the first puller to the last, so no one is denied the opportunity to achieve the maximum traction and power from the vehicle for each trip down a 300-foot track. Making it to the finish line is called a 'full pull' and uses three-20 gallons of fuel depending on what type of tractor and how many engines. It should be noted that tractors burn more racing alcohol than diesel or gas (G. Randall, personal communication, February 18, 2009; D. Schreier, personal communication, February 27, 2009). If two or more drivers accomplish a full pull in the same contest, a pull off takes place. This is an event in which the pullers who have gone the distance the first time battle it out again—this time with more weight added to the sled.

With hopes of reaching the finish line, pullers travel thousands of miles and spend hundreds of thousands of dollars on a truck or tractor with every effort made to get the most out of their investments (Bargo, 1988). For champions who win the battle at some pulling events, there are thousands of dollars in cash and prizes through major event sponsors all organized by various truck and tractor pulling associations.

TRUCK & TRACTOR PULLING ASSOCIATIONS

The NTPA was established in 1969 by representatives from eight states (Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Ohio, and Pennsylvania) ("About NTPA/WPI," 2008). These representatives met to establish uniform rules and give the sport structure. A year later, the NTPA established a championship series with pulling divisions. Through a circuit of pulling events during the season, points are awarded based on the place of finish. At the end of the season, the points are tallied and a winner announced.

The NTPA's Grand National Circuit features the most competitive and best performing professional pullers. The NTPA hosts 25 major events on its premier Grand National tour, with 45 regional events supporting the Grand Nationals each season. The NTPA has state member associations in small cities and towns throughout rural America. These locations represent where NTPA pulling is the top entertainment event of the season with a total of more than 250 events each season ("Sponsorship opportunities," 2008). Major pulls are conducted in Tomah, Wisconsin; Chapel Hill, Tennessee; Henry, Illinois and Bowling Green, Ohio; and dozens of other small rural communities around the country. The success of the NTPA spawned substantial competition from other associations.

Since 1991, other tractor pulls and sanctioning bodies have been established and created similar opportunities for professional tractor pulling (Gordon & Smith, 1988). The Outlaw Truck and Tractor Pulling Association is the major organizer west of the Mississippi River, and the American Tractor Pull Association and NTPA fight over pulling in the heartland east of the Mississippi (Webb, 2004). Along with other associations that organize truck and tractor pulling, such as the US Hot Rod Association and Pro Pulling League, many states also have their own association. Regardless of the association planning the pulling event, they all have the same goal, to match trucks and tractors against one another to see who can pull the sled the farthest.

Today, professional truck and tractor pull competitions are not only held in the United States where pulling was first established, but also in Canada, Brazil, Australia, Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Germany, The Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, France, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, Austria, Liechtenstein, Greece, New Zealand, and Japan. With the sport of the pulling established in Europe in 1977, pulling continues to progress throughout Europe and is currently spreading into the former east bloc in Hungary and Slovenia ("What is tractor pulling?," n.d.). Truck and tractor pulling has evolved into a heavily attended major motor sport in the United States and abroad; however, little research has been conducted on this growing leisure activity.

Methodology

Purpose

The primary purpose of this study is to acquire information from attendees at the Wisconsin Dairyland Super National Tractor Pull hosted by the Monroe Country Agricultural Society in Tomah, Wisconsin sanctioned by the NTPA. Through a written survey, questions were asked to determine the characteristics of who attended the pull and what leisure activities attendees did in addition to this large event. Then frequencies were computed through SPSS.

Data Collection

Information was obtained from fans who attended any one of the four pull sessions of Wisconsin Dairyland Super National Tractor Pull hosted by the Monroe Country Agricultural Society in Tomah, Wisconsin sanctioned by the NTPA on June 20-22, 2008. The survey instrument was distributed by six trained survey volunteers and completed by the respondents in their stadium seats before, during, and after pull sessions. Incentive prizes, such as calendars, hats, and commemorative pins, were given to all respondents after completing the survey. The number of surveys gathered in this quota sample was 1,245, which exceeded the number needed for the 40,000-60,000 people who attended the pull. In quota sampling, the researcher computes a minimum sample size to fulfill a specific quota (Henderson & Bialeschki, 2002). Once the quota is reached, no one else has a chance of being selected. With a relatively varied population, a minimum sample size of 1,045 would be the required quota for three percent sampling error (Salant & Dillman, 1994).

Results

With data collected from respondents at the truck and tractor pull, the following results describe who attended the pull, what leisure activities attendees did in addition to this large event, and market segments by distance.

Attendee Characteristics

The results of survey indicated that men greatly outnumbered women at the pull with attendance for males at 75.6% (n=922) and females at 24.4% (n=297). The largest age groups in attendance at the pull were 25 to 34 (23.0%, n=284), 35 to 44 (24.4%, n=302), and 45 to 59 (25.9%, n=320) years old. With over 75% (n=1006) of attendees between the ages

of 25 and 59, the average number of years attending this event was 8.6 years. Over 21% (n=264) attended the pull for the first time with parties of various sizes.

Over a third of these respondents (35.3%, n=435) indicated that they came in a group, followed closely by a family at 31.4% (n=386). Nearly a quarter (23.1%, n=284) attended as a couple, and 10.2% (n=126) came alone. The average number of people per party was 4.95 people. Once the results were placed in ranges, the results show that 43.5% (n=530) of respondents were in parties between three and five people.

When asked how they heard about the event, the majority of respondents heard about the event from family and/or friends (65.7%, n=762). Eighty-five percent (n=1044) stated a male made the decision to attend, with over half (52.2%, n=634) visiting the Wisconsin Dairyland Super National Tractor Pull website to assist them with making the decision. Over 63% (n=634) also reported that they watch truck and tractor pulling on RFD-TV when they do not have the opportunity to travel to the actual pull location.

For those fans with the opportunity to travel, the distance traveled was calculated by examining zip codes gathered from respondents and converting it to a distance. The conversion was done by using a geographical information system computer program called ArcGIS 9.3 (Environmental Systems Research Institute, 2008). This computer program used zip code cartographic boundary files provided by the U.S. Census Bureau. Using this method, the distance recorded from the pull location was the distance in a straight line, or "as the crow flies" rather than road miles traveled. The average distance traveled to the truck and tractor pull in Tomah, Wisconsin was 121.87 miles. More than half (57.7%, n=705) traveled from a distance between 50 and 149 miles. Nearly 95% (n=1156) of all respondents came from the state of the pull location, or a border state. Fans from thirty states (29.8%, n=364) and two foreign countries, The Netherlands and Germany, were represented at this event.

Truck and tractor pulling fans that traveled to the event came from a variety of income ranges and education levels. The highest income level was $50,000-$74,999 (25.7%, n=299), with 58.2% (n=706) of survey respondents' highest education level being high school. The $20,000-$34,999 and $35,000-$49,999 income ranges were next at 18.8% (n=219) and 18.6% (n=216) respectively. The results showed that 26.9% (n=313) of attendees had an income level of less

than $35,000 regardless of the industry employed.

Respondents chose from a list of 18 industries in which they work, the top six industries are shown (Table 1). When not at work earning an income, truck and tractor pull attendees enjoyed an array of hobbies. Table 2 represents respondents' favorite hobbies which they chose from a list of 25 hobbies and ranked with the first being their favorite, second their second favorite, and third being their third favorite hobby. The hobbies that had a total greater than ten percent are shown in this table; all other hobbies are not shown. This table shows that overall respondents' favorite hobbies were hunting and fishing at a total of 38.9% (n=477), with NASCAR second at 33.2 (n=407). Also, while the intent of the question was to find the hobbies of fans other than pulling, pulling made the top hobbies as a write-in. Specifically, 7.2% (n=88) of respondents chose it as first favorite hobby.

Attendee Leisure Activities Beyond the Pull

To understand what attendees did beyond the truck and tractor pull, researchers first examined the number of overnight stays. Of attendees who stayed overnight (56.8%, n=669), the average number of nights stayed was 2.51 nights. Respondents who choose to stay overnight typically stayed between two and three nights (71.5%, n=474). Of those who stayed overnight (for any number of nights), 47.1% (n=315) visited other local areas beyond the pull.

A survey question asked what types of other areas were visited beyond the pull. As expected, the majority of the respondents visited restaurant type facilities [sit-down restaurants (50.1%, n=216), bars/taverns (45.4%, n=194), and fast food restaurants (42.4%, n=181)] (Table 3). Beyond restaurant type facilities, 13.3% (n=57) of respondents visited parks, and 11.7% (n=50) visited the resort area in addition to attending the pull.

Market Segments by Distance

Researchers subdivided respondents into homogenous groups to more easily understand the attendees of the Wisconsin Dairyland Super National Tractor Pull. This grouping method is commonly referred to as market segmentation. In this report, attendees of the truck and tractor pull were grouped in the following geographic market segments (Table 4): zero miles, one to 49 miles, 50 to 99 miles, 100 to 149 miles, 150 to 199 miles, 200 to 249 miles, and over 250 miles. This

TABLE 1. Top Occupational Industries Employed

	N	Percentage
Industry Type		
Agriculture/Forestry	282	22.9%
Manufacturing	187	15.2%
Construction	157	12.7%
Transportation	116	9.4%
Auto/Truck Repair	77	6.3%
Health Services	62	5.0%

Note. Percent does not equal to 100% because Industry Types under 5% are not shown.

TABLE 2. Top Individual Hobbies

	1st Hobby	2nd Hobby	3rd Hobby	Total Hobby Percentage
Hobby				
Hunting/Fishing	17.9%	12.9%	8.1%	38.9%
NASCAR	10.9%	12.8%	9.5%	33.2%
Snowmobiling	7.6%	9.5%	5.8%	22.9%
Tractor Restoration	8.8%	7.3%	6.7%	22.8%
Camping	4.8%	9.4%	7.7%	21.9%
All-terrain vehicle	6.7%	8.3%	5.7%	20.7%
Football	6.9%	6.3%	6.7%	19.9%
Travel	3.6%	4.9%	8.6%	17.1%
Pulling (write-in)	7.2%	1.4%	1.5%	10.1%

Note. Total percent exceeds 100% because respondents could give more than one answer. Percent is based on number of spectators (n=1227) who responded to the question, not the total number of responses. Not all hobbies are shown, only hobbies totaling greater than 10%.

TABLE 3. Leisure Activities Beyond the Pull

	N	Percentage
Leisure Activity		
Sit-down Restaurants	216	50.1%
Bars/Taverns	194	45.4%
Fast Food Restaurants	181	42.4%
Parks	57	13.3%
Resort area	50	11.7%
Specialty/Amish Shops	38	8.9%
Clothing Shops	31	7.3%
Military Base	22	5.2%
Bike Trail	10	2.3%
Other	47	11.0%

geographic segmentation method was utilized to examine the effectiveness of resources dedicated to various communication and distribution channels based on location.

Of those who attended the truck and tractor pull, 5.3% (n=66) were from the host town of Tomah, Wisconsin (zero miles). These attendees were considered the "locals" that attended this event. Even though they live and work in the host town, the survey asked if they stayed overnight in any other lodging facilities. Eighty-five percent (n=56) of these attendees did not stay overnight during this event. Of those attendees who stayed overnight, 40% (n=4) slept in a campground (An on-site campground was created for the truck and tractor pull event.). Many "locals" heard about the event through word of mouth (WOM) communication from family and/or friends (44.4%, n=29). Nearly 50% (n=32) of this segment attended this event with family, 20% (n=13) as a couple, 17% (n=11) by themselves, and 15% (10) with a group. This segment spent the least; on average they spent $122.54 per attendee for the experience.

The next market segment was those attendees who came from a distance between one and 49 miles. This segment generally was similar to the zero miles segment in that it was located very close to Tomah, Wisconsin and attendees would still be considered mostly local. The vast majority of the respondents in this segment did not stay overnight (86%, n=187). Nearly 45% (n=98) of those who did stay overnight stayed in a campground. At a distance between one and 49 miles, 23% (n=50) of respondents heard about the truck and tractor pull from family and/or friends, and another 23% (n=50) also heard about this event though flyers. Those attendees who came this distance typically attended this event with family (38.5%, n=84). Those fans who attended this event in a group type party increased in this segment to 27% (n=59). Another 21% (n=46) of respondents in this segment attended as a couple, with those who attended by themselves accounting for 12.8% (n=28). The average amount of money spent increased to $188.50 per attendee for the experience.

The 50 to 99 mile market segment was the largest of all the segments, accounting for 32.8% (n=408). In this segment, the balance flipped for those respondents who stayed overnight. Exactly 50.0% (n=204) stayed overnight in this segment. Of those who did stay overnight, 52.0% (n=102) stayed in a campground. Many attendees in the 50 to 99 miles market segment heard about the truck and tractor pull through family and/or friends (43.3%, n=177)). Typically, fans in this segment came to the pull with a group 36.5% (n=149). Those who attended with family were 29.8% (n=122), couples consisted of 24.5% (n=100) of the respondents, and only 9.2% (n=38) attended alone. Average spending also increased $100 in this segment to $287.35 per attendee for the experience.

The second largest segment (25.4%, n=316) belonged to those who came from a distance between 100 and 149 miles. Of this market segment, 78.8% (n=249) stayed overnight with many as 41.3% (n=103) at campgrounds. Worth noting were those who enjoyed the hobbies of pulling and restoration at a combined total of 25.0% (n=79). Those attendees in this segment who heard about the truck and tractor pull through family and/or friends increased to 50% (n=158). Those who attended this event in a group increased to 46.3% (n=146), making this segment the largest for those who attend in a group. Only 21.8% (n=69) attended as a family, the smallest percentage for families of all market segments. This market segment

	0 miles (5.3%, n=66)	1-49 miles (18.5%, n=218)	50-99 miles (32.8%, n=408)	100-149 miles (25.4%, n=316)	150-199 miles (7.5%, n=93)	200-249 miles (2.6%, n=32)	Over 250 miles (8.3%, n=103)
Median Number of Years Attended	9	6.5	5	5	4	3	2
Percentage Who Heard about Event from Family and/or Friends (Word of Mouth)	44.4%	23.0%	43.3%	50.0%	52.4%	38.9%	38.6%
Average Party Size	3.95	4.33	5.20	5.73	4.58	4.19	3.93
Percentage with Overnight Stay	15.0%	14.0%	50.0%	78.8%	50.0%	87.5%	91.4%
Average Number of Nights Stayed	3.33	2.70	2.34	2.36	2.63	2.59	3.02
Average Money Spent	$122.54	$188.50	$287.35	$414.75	$653.10	$611.00	$629.47

had 24.4% (n=77) of respondents attending as a couple, and 7.5% (n=24) came alone. Average spending increased substantially to $414.75 per attendee for the experience.

In the next market segment, 7.5% (n=93) of all respondents came from a distance between 150 and 199 miles. Of respondents in this market segment, 91.2% (n=85) stayed overnight. Those who heard about the truck and tractor pull though family and/or friends were 52.4% (n=49) of respondents. The majority of respondents still attended the event with others in a group (39.1%, n=36). Attending with family increased to 31.5% (n=29), as a couple to 20.7% (n=19), and alone to 8.7% (n=8). Average spending took its biggest increase in this segment to $653.10 per attendee for the experience.

The 200 to 249 mile segment was the smallest of all segments with 2.6% (n=32) of the total number of respondents. In this market segment, 87.5% (n=28) of respondents stayed overnight with 46.4% (n=13) staying in the campground. Worth noting, a combined 20% (n=6) enjoyed the hobbies of pulling and tractor restoration. Utilizing WOM communication, 38.9% (n=12) of respondents heard about the pull from family and/or friends. Many in this segment attended this event as a couple (34.4%, n=11), family (28%, n=9), group (25%, n=8), and some came alone (12.5%, n=4). Average spending decreased in this segment to $611.00 per attendee for the experience.

The last segment was 250 miles or more and represented 8.3% (n=103) of all respondents. In this market segment, 91.4% (n=86) stayed overnight, with 26.7% (n=23) staying in a campground. With a combined total of 42% (n=43),

many in this segment most enjoyed pulling and tractor restoration. Those who heard about the truck and tractor pull from family and/or friends were 38.6% (n=40). The majority of respondents in this segment attended this event with family (44.6%, n=46), 26.7% (n=28) said group, 18.8% (n=19) attended as a couple, and nearly 10% (n=10) came alone. This segment also spent on average $629.47 per attendee for the experience.

DISCUSSION

At first rural, farm-oriented, and occurring only occasionally, informal truck and tractor pulls provided amusement at fairgrounds and picnics with mostly local attendees. Today, many fans from all over the United States as well as foreign countries hear about the event from friends and family and then travel with them to not only attend the truck and tractor pull, but to participate in an experience. Over half of the attendees traveled between 50-149 miles, and many stayed overnight just to enjoy the experience (56.8%, n=669). The average number of nights stayed was 2.51. Interestingly even 15% of the "locals" from the host city Tomah, Wisconsin stayed overnight with many at the campground located at the event location. Of those who stayed overnight (for any number of nights), 47.1% (n=315) participated in other leisure activities beyond the pull.

Truck and tractor pull "enthusiasts" traveled greater distances (over 200 miles) and spent more money experiencing the weekend event than other attendees. Those respondents who wrote in tractor pulling or selected auto/tractor

restoration as their favorite hobby could be considered tractor pull "enthusiasts" because of the distance traveled and money spent. A combined 20% enjoyed pulling and tractor restoration as their favorite hobby in the 200-249 miles traveled market segment and spent an average $611.00 for the entire experience. Forty-two percent enjoyed pulling and tractor restoration from the 250+ miles traveled market segment and spent $629.47. Since the study indicated that many tractor pull "enthusiasts" were willing to travel greater distances and spend more money for the experience, future promotion efforts may be focused on the main event hobbies of pulling and tractor restoration when marketing to distances greater than 200 miles.

For other fans, gathering with family and friends may have been their primary reason for attendance. Many respondents arrived with family and friends several days early to recreate and tour the surrounding area before they attended the truck and tractor pull weekend event. The results showed that 43.5% (n=530) of respondents were in parties between three and five people. With this information, promoters should develop strategies that better market the experience to groups and families. Potential strategies include incentives or discounts on various aspects of the experience (e.g. lodging, restaurants, tourist attractions, etc.) based on the number of individuals in the party. It would also benefit large events to communicate this information through their websites. Since over half of respondents visited the truck and tractor pull website to assist in making the decision to attend, these group incentives or discounts would encourage more website usage.

Besides the website, many attendees initially heard about the truck and tractor pull weekend experience from friends and/or family. This WOM communication between family and friends was found to be the most effective media outlet (65.7%, n=762). WOM literature defines word of mouth as a conversation where someone tells a friend or acquaintance what he/she likes and/or dislikes about a product or service. This conversation is usually between a knowledgeable person explaining performance, quality, trust-worthiness, etc. and a less knowledgeable friend who someday may wish to purchase the product or service they are discussing. Some researchers believe word of mouth may have more influence on the purchase of services or experiences, such as the truck and tractor pull event, than retail products. Certain characteristics of services (intangibility, inseparability, participants as producers and consumers, and heterogeneity) create greater consumer risk and uncertainty when attempting to form their expectations. To reduce the potential risk and uncertainties (e.g. financial, performance, social, psychological, safety, inconvenience, or time loss) associated with the purchase of a service (Brooker, 1984; Jacoby and Kaplan, 1972; Roselius, 1971), consumers will place greater reliance on WOM from friends or family when purchasing services (Haywood, 1989; Lovelock, 2001; Murray, 1991). Another likely reason for this increased reliance on WOM with service products is services are generally experiential in nature, meaning they must be experienced before the customer can evaluate their true value or quality (Newhouse, 2005). More specifically, consumers do not have the opportunity to sample or examine a service, unlike retail products, before purchasing it, so they frequently ask people who had an experience with the service (van der Smissen *et al.*, 1999). In the service field of recreation, leisure, and tourism, most organizations advertise the features and benefits, but seldom do they provide an opportunity to actually experience the service before purchasing. Hence, the customer must rely on WOM to make their purchase decision.

More recently, Berns and Arimond's (2009) findings on the influence of negative and positive WOM in the field of recreation, leisure, and tourism showed that in situations where consumers were exposed to WOM comments about the service had a greater impact on their purchasing decisions. What does this mean in recreation, leisure, and tourism? It means the organization should be vigilant in identifying any service failure that leads to harsh negative WOM and take steps to correct it, especially for events such as truck and tractor pulling with many fans coming year after year (average years of attendance = 8.6). On the other hand, what about positive WOM? The results showed that if consumers see negative ratings in print and hear positive WOM comments, the positive WOM will have greater influence on their purchase decision. Large events, such as the truck and tractor pulls, whose services generated positive WOM will appreciate the benefit of this form of word of mouth.

Limitations

Although this study provided insight into the truck and tractor pulling event experience, it would be important to further analyze the experience. More specific information could be gathered beyond the survey question "Other than the pull itself what else did you enjoy about this event?". Rewording or asking another question such as "What is your primary reason for attendance beyond the pull?" may not only gather valuable information, but also assist in the division and analysis of respondents in market segments based on their primary reason for attendance beyond the pull.

Several other challenges arose when administering the survey. Respondents were offered an incentive for completing the two-page survey; however, many attendees declined to complete the survey when they discovered more questions on a second page. Reducing the survey to one page may encourage more participation. This could be done by eliminating some questions, such as "What type of vehicle do you drive?", "What type of fuel does your vehicle use?", and "Do you purchase parts and supplies to maintain & repair your own vehicle?". These questions were intended to gather information to specifically market the event to certain sponsors, exhibitors, or vendors; yet, this may have inhibited participation in the survey.

Another challenge was that this self-administered survey may not be considered random, but instead a quota sample. In quota sampling, the researcher computed a minimum sample size to fulfill a specific quota corresponding to attendance at the tractor pull event by days and time. Once the quota was reached, no one else had a chance of being selected. Distributing the surveys at the ticket booth to randomly assigned ticket numbers would have allowed this sample to be random. Also, this means of random distribution would enable attendees to complete the survey at their convenience as an alternative to being spontaneously approached by survey volunteers before, during, or after pull sessions. Lastly, researchers could also eliminate another limitation with this approach to distribution which was the difficulty of receiving coherent responses from attendees during or after the evening pulling session because they wanted to partake of the experience and not be bothered.

Conclusion

As the researchers examined the recreation and leisure of attendees of one of the fastest growing motorsports today, research indicated that many fans desired an experience rather than just attending an event by staying overnight with groups of family and friends to visit local areas beyond the pull. More than just an event, truck and tractor pulling has evolved into a recreation experience, with fans spending a considerable amount of time and money engaging in other leisure activities beyond the pull. Many tractor pull "enthusiasts" traveled greater distances and spent more money experiencing the weekend event than other attendees. Because this experience is intangible, attendees often rely on positive and negative word of mouth about this experience from family and friends. This study and future research efforts on large recreation events will further assist professionals in the field of recreation, leisure, and tourism as they continue to understand the characteristics of successful event experiences and plan many more.

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BABY BOOMERS & SENIORS:
A LEISURE VALUE STUDY

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Baby boomers worldwide are influencing the aging of society in different ways and greatly are impacting recreation programs and facilities. The purpose of this study was to understand what tomorrow's seniors (baby boomers born between 1946 and 1964) search for in terms of community leisure needs as perceived by their value structure. As a comparison, today's senior citizens (born from 1925 to 1945) were also examined. Through a written survey, 52 respondents indicated their preferences regarding leisure values, programs, and facilities. Additional commonalities and differences regarding leisure were identified between baby boomers and seniors based on their survey responses. Findings provide the recreation professional with valuable insights into leisure values between these two cohorts.

The field of recreation and leisure studies is on the horizon of change. A large segment of the population contributing to the change is one that is termed, "baby boomers." The return in 1946 of millions of WWII soldiers from battlefields and military units, combined with the desire of married couples to start a family, resulted in the largest generation (1946-1964) born in history. Other explanations for the creation of the baby boom include the positive economic climate, the changing social values of post-war society, and the acceptance of large family size and status (Morias & Goodman, 2002). Eventually, the introduction of birth control, increased education of men and women, deferred marriages, and an in-crease of women in the workforce lead to the end of the baby boom (Drucker, 2002; Freedman, 1999; Gillon, 2004). This growth phenomenon occurred also in Canada and throughout Europe and Asia during this same time frame.

Populations are growing older in most countries around the world. This trend has characterized the age structure of developed countries for well over a century. Population ageing is defined as the process by which older individuals, aged 50 or over, make up a proportionally larger share of the total population over a period of time (United Nations, 2002). Baby boomers, those born in the United States, consist of nearly 76 million Americans, making up 30% of the total U.S. population. In the United Kingdom, there were 17 million born, making up 29% of the total British population (Office for National Statistics, 2004). For the U.S. and other Western nations, it means that both the number and percentage of the total population that is older has increased and will continue to increase at a rapid rate.

In the United States, the 65 years and older population, also known as the population of senior citizens born between 1925 and 1945, is projected to double in size over the next three decades to nearly 70 million. This trend will make the seniors approximately 20% of the population, a growth from 24.9 million in the year 2000 which was approximately 12.7% of the population (Administration on Aging, 2002). Similarly, population ageing continues to be an important feature of the UK population. In 2003, there were 20 million people aged 50 and over in the UK (Office for National Statistics, 2007). Therefore, worldwide, in the year 2011, the first wave of the baby boomer generation will turn 65 years of age. It is projected that over 40 percent of the total population will be aged 50 and over by the year 2031, making this the largest group of senior citizens. In addition to the many needs of this cohort, a whole new dimension of leisure activity will be generated. As such the climate and nature of leisure programming is changing. With this influx of more active senior aged participants, recreation professionals need to be educated on the programs and services that are preferred by them. This new group will define our facilities and programs; recreation professionals must be ready to meet their demands.

COHORT DIFFERENCES

It is typical for people born in a given generation to share values and attitudes about life, which were acquired because they share a series of common life experiences formed in youth and young adulthood (Cochran, 2005). Each cohort exhibits preferences particular to the influences that shaped their formative years. These differences affect the interests, needs and behaviors of the participants in terms of leisure facilities and programs. By the sheer force of their numbers, the boomers are considered a "demographic bulge" who have remodeled society as they pass through it and will continue to shape their future, including influencing trends in leisure programming. Boomers will require major adjustments in the delivery of leisure facilities, programs, and services.

Today's seniors consist of survivors of the Great Depression and WWII. The values driving this generation are hard work, organization, hierarchy, tradition, logic, discipline, family, honor, respect for authority, consistency, and uniformity (Brokaw, 1998). They are generally conservative, loyal to brands, and believe in planning and saving. Many of their leisure activities require little or no physical activity or exertion, and include bingo, golf, cooking, and sewing (Cochran, Rothschadl & Rudick, 2009).

From a sociological perspective, the baby boomer cohort has a unique set of values and characteristics, vastly different from previous generations. Edmunds and Turner (2002), for example, suggest that in the UK the boomers were a "strategic generation in aesthetic, cultural and sexual terms" (p.31). Their values encompass all aspects of life, affecting their beliefs about self, career, home, and leisure. Boomers are the most-educated, influential, and prosperous generation in history (Gillon, 2004). Baby boomers are an individualistic, self-focused generation which is economically optimistic; they are

highly educated, comfortable with technology, healthier and more affluent than any generation before them. They have high expectations, want value for their money and expect quality products along with convenience (Freedman, 1999). Despite their hectic lifestyles, leisure is still a necessity for them (Cochran, Stoll, & Kinziger, 2006).

Boomers were not born into depression or war and as a result, experienced more freedom of activity. They will experience longer lives and retire in less time than their predecessors. They have visions of retiring into recreation and they are motivated to engage in healthy activity. Most appear not interested in pursuing a sedentary lifestyle: sitting down and playing cards; they want to get out there and learn, discover, play and move (Cochran, Stoll, Beller, & Goc Karp, 2009). A recent European survey discovered that seniors in Britain spend their free time watching television, socializing, working on sport and hobbies. Other popular leisure activities are listening to the radio, listening to pre-recorded music, reading, gardening, eating out and going to the cinema (Office for National Statistics, 2004). This study further points out that these activities may change as boomers age into retirement. In order to respond to the challenges and opportunities of this social transition, the recreation professional needs to consider specific value structures of this unique and large cohort in order to adequately provide programs and services for them.

Leisure Values

Recreation and leisure are important elements in the lives of every individual and family. Recreation professionals increasingly face the need to develop a variety of experiences to meet their participants' needs. This includes understanding what drives leisure participation- or, our leisure non-moral values. We know that leisure is an important element in the lives of most people but the term "leisure" has different meanings to different people under different circumstances. At the same time, participation and benefits of leisure can contribute to several different lifestyle elements. Value is given to something we have strong feelings toward, and is often what we deem worthwhile, desirable, or consequential. Values influence all aspects of life and can be viewed from a societal, group, or individual perspective (Cochran, Rothschadl, & Rudick, 2009).

When values relate specifically to leisure or leisure activities, they can be referred to as leisure non moral values. An example of the non-moral values people hold for leisure is suggested by the pioneering work in leisure motivation by Beard and Ragheb (1982). In developing a scale to measure leisure motivations, which are directly affected by values, Beard and Ragheb identify six categories of leisure motivations: competitive, educational, physiological, social, relaxation and aesthetic (1982). These, in turn, are a reflection of the attitudes that play an important role in deciding how we view leisure and the types of activities in which we choose to participate. For example, some people place value on feelings of anticipation, choice, physical ability, or on cultural growth (Cochran, 2005). From the recreation professional perspective, understanding leisure values gives us direction.

Historically, recreation programmers have used various approaches, theories, and strategies to plan and deliver leisure programs for their participants. Previous research reflects importance in the study of leisure motivations, leisure constraints, and the impact of leisure satisfaction in life among various senior age groups (Sperazza, 2008). However, little research is actually available to the professional about the specific leisure differences between boomers and today's seniors in terms of leisure values. This provides a need for this study as potentially these two cohorts will be sharing facilities and programs. By focusing on how individuals make decisions to participate in leisure and the activities they choose, the professional can develop programs to suit the leisure values of their participants, in turn, maximizing the benefits leisure has to offer.

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to understand what tomorrow's senior (baby boomers born 1946-1964) are searching for in terms of community leisure needs as perceived by their value structure. In comparison, this study needed to identify differences that may exist between today's senior (born 1925-1945) and the boomers. The main research question for the study was: "What are the leisure participation values of boomers and seniors in the Borough of Wandsworth, London?" Subsequent research questions were stated as follows:

RQ1: Is there a difference between boomers and seniors regarding their preference of leisure activities based on competitiveness, education, physiological reasons, socializing, relaxation and aesthetics as values?

Subsequently, the researchers also theorized that choices for leisure programming would be made based on leisure participation values. As such, a secondary line of questioning emerged: RQ2: What is the likelihood of boomers and seniors preferring or engaging in particular types of leisure programming?

Methodology

Participants

The study was primarily exploratory in nature and descriptive. After obtaining approval from the Institutional Review Board to conduct research, data were collected from members of a local community center who were participants in leisure programs in the Borough of Wandsworth, London. A non-probability sample of convenience was chosen and 300 surveys were distributed at the end of leisure programs where all participants were over the age of 50 years. A total of fifty-two surveys were returned resulting in a 17.3% response rate. The researchers acknowledge that the project has limited generalizability due to the nature of sample selection and sample size.

Survey

The survey was modified from an Existing Customer Satisfaction Survey administered for two townships in western New York State. U.S. Survey items regarding leisure participation values were included from the Cochran Baby Boomer Quiz (Cochran, 2005). The survey included the following subscales.

The first subscale measured the participants' opinion about how important it was to participate in recreation activities (for example, "to compete against others, or because I am good at it, or improve my skills or knowledge" – with response options ranging from "extremely important to not important"). Each of the 23 statements (numbered a-w) corresponded into one of six categories of non-moral values. Responses ranged from "extremely important" to "not important."

The second subscale was designed to describe preference of programming and the likelihood or participation in certain activities (the arts, literary, sports, aquatics, etc.). The response options ranged from "very likely" to "not likely."

The third subscale dealt with questions about preferred facilities, particularly experiences with facilities and preferred attributes of the facilities. Response options ranged from, "excellent to poor"

and "very important to not important" respectively.

The fourth subscale addressed facility preferences of the participants. The question in this subscale was, "what time/day would be most convenient for you to visit senior leisure facilities?" and "what days are you most likely to participate in leisure activities?" These questions yielded ordinal responses.

The final section of the survey was designed to capture the demographic elements of the sample which included age, gender, level of education, gross annual income, race etc.

DATA ANALYSIS

The Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS©), version 17.0, was used for data analysis. Descriptive statistics were calculated for demographic items as well as all subscales. Frequency statistics and Kruskal-Wallis H tests were conducted on the data to answer research questions. Kruskal-Wallis provides a powerful alternative to the t-test or ANOVA for the equality of means (Institute for Fiscal Studies, 2006; Wilson & Sherrell, 1993). According to Seigal (1956), compared with the F-test, the Kruskal-Wallis test has an asymptotic efficiency of 95.5% when used with non-normal populations. The Kruskal-Wallis test is a nonparametric test with few assumptions and was chosen as the best fit for the sample size, ordinal nature of responses, and non-probability sampling technique.

Reliability analyses (Cronbach's alpha) were conducted on two of the three subscales. The recreation and leisure participation subscale was found to have a high internal consistency reliability (α = .901), the programming areas subscale yielded a coefficient of .77 and the six value composites yielded an internal consistency coefficient of .82. Face validity for the instrument was established through consultation with a panel of recreation professional experts who reviewed the items.

RESULTS

DEMOGRAPHICS

The mean age of the participants was 69, $\pm$ 8.29 years. Ages ranged from 52 to 89 years. More females (82.6%) participated in the study than males (17.4%), and the majority of the participants (52.4%) described themselves as Caucasian, 16.7% classified themselves as Asian, and 31.0% opted for the "other" category. The participants often described themselves as "British" in the 'other' category. Most of the participants (73.9%)

were retired, and 27% reported a 2006 gross annual income between £5080 - 12,699 and £20,320-32,511 which is approximately $8,344-$53,383 USD with a monthly discretionary income of $197-$415 per month (33.3%). In the research literature, the "boomer" variable is operationally defined as describing those between the ages of 43-61, since this study captured a sample consisting of participants over the age of 50, boomers were classified in this study as those between the ages of 50 and 61. As such, of the total sample, 30.2% were classified as "boomers" and 69.8% were classified as "seniors." Due to missing data on a few surveys, responses were excluded from analysis when appropriate.

LEISURE PARTICIPATION VALUES

Six composite variables were created from the first subscale – recreation and leisure participation to measure specific leisure participation values. The composites were named competitive, educational, physiological, social, relaxation, and aesthetic. For a detailed description of each variable, see Table 1.

The Competitive Value measured the level of competitiveness as a value necessary to participation in recreation activities. Scores ranged from 7 indicating a low value for competitiveness to a score of 28 indicating that competitiveness was very important to the participant. The Educational Value measured the importance of participating in recreational activity for educational purposes. Scores ranged from 3 indicating a low value placed on education as the reason for participating in recreational activities while a score of 12 indicated that education was very important to the participant. The Physiological Value measured the importance of activities for physiological development and relaxation for the participant. A score of 2 indicated low importance and a score of 8 indicated high importance. The Social Value measured how important it was to participate in recreational activities for the purposes of socializing such as being with their families, keeping them busy, contributing to community, or for cultural interaction. Scores ranged from 6 indicating low importance while a score of 24 indicated high importance or value. The Relaxation Value measured the importance of doing something different from work or to be alone as an important reason or value to participating in recreation activities. Scores ranged from 3 (low importance) to 12 (high importance). Finally the Aesthetic Value measured the importance of simply for pleasure and to enjoy nature in

recreation. Scores ranged from 2 (low importance) to 8 (high importance). In order to correlate the specific leisure participation values with preferences of boomers and seniors, the six composite variables were divided into three categories, namely: "extremely important," "somewhat or moderately important," and "not important."

VALUE RESULTS

Based on the range of scores described above, the mean score on the competitive value was assessed at 13.88, SD= $\pm$4.5, indicating a level of high competitiveness among the sample. For the educational value variable, the average was assessed moderately important (M=7.79, SD= $\pm$2.34); The average physiological value was M=6.41, SD= $\pm$ 4.18, indicating a moderate to high importance; the mean of the social value variable was assessed at M=13.29, SD= $\pm$4.31, indicating a moderate level of importance; the mean for the relaxation value was M=4.66, SD= $\pm$ 1.79, indicating a moderate to high level of importance, and the aesthetic value variable (M=5.21, SD= $\pm$1.47) was assessed as moderately important. See Table 2 for value results between cohorts.

RQ₁: Is there a difference between boomers and seniors in the Borough of Wandsworth, London regarding their preference of leisure activities based on competitiveness as a value?

Of the 52 participants, 32 (62%) responded to the questions regarding competitiveness as a value for participating in leisure activities. Fifty six percent of the participants reported that the value of competitiveness was "not important" when it came to choosing leisure activities. Of these, more seniors (57%) stated that participating in leisure activities for competitiveness was not important. Only 22% of the boomers and 8.7% of the seniors reported that competitiveness as a value for participating in leisure activities was extremely important. The Kruskal-Wallis test conducted to compare the outcome of competitiveness as a value for boomer and seniors was not significant (H(2) = .109, p>.05), indicating that boomers and seniors for this sample did not differ significantly in terms of how important competitiveness was perceived as a value. Mean rank for this variable was 17.28 for boomers and 16.20 for seniors.

RQ₂: Is there a difference between boomers and seniors regarding their

TABLE 1. Description of Specific Leisure Participation Values

Variable	Description
Competitive	To compete against others, improve skills or knowledge, for a challenge, excitement, risk, adventure, or to show others I can do it.
Educational	To be creative, expand intellect, and to learn new skills.
Physiological	For health or exercise and relaxation of mind, body, spirit.
Social	To help community, be with family or friends, meet new people, and for cultural interaction.
Relaxation	Something different from work, to be alone, and to be away from family.
Aesthetic	Simply for pleasure or to enjoy nature.

TABLE 2. Results of Kruskal-Wallis Tests

Types of Cases	N	Mean Rank
Competitive		
Boomers	9	17.28
Seniors	23	16.20
Educational		
Boomers	8	19.25
Seniors	23	17.50
Physiological		
Boomers	11	17.14
Seniors	29	21.78
Social		
Boomers	8	15.44
Seniors	24	16.85
Relaxation		
Boomers	7	18.43
Seniors	25	15/96
Aesthetic		
Boomers	10	19.25
Seniors	25	17.50

preference of leisure activities for educational reasons as a value?

Regarding the Educational Value (n=31) in leisure participation, 63% of the participants classified as boomers reported that this value was "extremely important." Forty five percent of all the participants classified the educational value as being extremely important in the choice of leisure activities. The results of the Kruskal-Wallis test were not significant. The difference between boomers and seniors regarding their reported preference for this value was not statistically significantly different $H(1) = .264$, $p>.05$). Mean rank for boomers was 19.44 and seniors was 14.80.

RQ3: Is there a difference between boomers and seniors regarding their preference of leisure activities based on physiological reasons as a value?

Seventy-three percent of the participants responded that choosing leisure activities for physiological reasons (value) was "extremely important." Of all the values the physiological dimension as the reason for participation in leisure activities received the most response (77%). Participants classified as seniors, responded in greater percentages (79.3%) to placing the reason to participate in leisure activity for physiological reasons as "extremely important." However, the Kruskal-Wallis test conducted to compare the difference between boomers and seniors for preferring leisure activities for physiological reasons was not statistically significant ($H(1) = 2.081$, $p>.05$). Mean rank for boomers was assessed at 17.14 and 21.78 for seniors.

RQ4: Is there a difference between boomers and seniors regarding their preference of leisure activities for the purpose of socializing?

Sixty one percent of the participants responded to the question regarding choosing socialization as a value for leisure activity. Surprisingly, 31.3% of the participants responded that it was "not important" to choose a leisure activity for socializing. Interestingly, however, more Seniors than boomers choose to report that socializing was either "somewhat important," (41.7%) or "extremely important" (29.2%). The Kruskal-Wallis test conducted to compare the difference between boomers and seniors for preferring leisure activities for socializing was not statistically significant ($H(1) = .365$, $p>.05$). Mean rank for the social value for boomers was assessed at 15.44 and 16.85 for seniors.

RQ5: Is there a difference between boomers and seniors regarding their preference of leisure activities for relaxation?

Interestingly, from the perspective of relaxation as a value for participating in leisure activities, the preponderance of responses for both boomers and seniors combined was "not important" (66%). Further, overwhelmingly more seniors (68%) than boomers (57.1%) reported that participating in leisure activities for relaxation was "not important." The Kruskal-Wallis test conducted to compare the difference between boomers and seniors for preferring leisure activities for relaxation was, however, not statistically significant ($H(1) = .551$, $p>.05$). Mean rank for boomers for this variable was assessed at 18.43 and 15.96 for seniors.

RQ6: Is there a difference between boomers and seniors regarding their preference of leisure activities for aesthetic reasons?

More of the participants classified as seniors (71.4%) responded to this value. Both boomers and seniors reported that leisure activities for aesthetic reasons was either "somewhat important" (49%) and "extremely important" (46%), and slightly more of those classified as boomers (50%) than seniors (44%) reported that choosing leisure activities for aesthetic reasons was "extremely important." The Kruskal-Wallis test conducted to compare

the difference between boomers and seniors for preferring leisure activities for aesthetic reasons was not statistically significant (H(1) = .264, p>.05). Mean rank for boomers was assessed at 19.25 and 17.50 for seniors.

VALUES RELATED TO ACTIVITY CHOICE

Based on the likelihood of boomers and seniors choosing leisure activities related to their non-moral leisure value system, more boomers reported that they would be more likely to choose leisure programming in the health and wellness (92.3%), outdoor (91.7%) and travel/tourism (84.6%) areas. Seniors reported a preference for leisure programming based on travel/tourism (83.3%), health and wellness (75%) and the arts (65.5%). Curiously, aquatics was not a popular programming area for boomers; 63.6% reported that they were "not likely" to pick any aquatic related leisure activities. Similarly, seniors reported that they were "not likely" to choose volunteering (56.5%) and self-improvement (56.0%) programming for their leisure activities. Table 3 reflects the statistical analysis of these questions as stated in the narrative above. The results from this section can help guide the recreation professional to adequately implement leisure programs between these two cohorts.

FACILITY EXPECTATIONS

A large part of leisure programming revolves around facility usage. It is important to understand when participants are likely to use facilities and what they expect of them in order to maximize their usage. In regards to preferred facilities, particularly experiences and preferred attributes, the top qualities for leisure facilities for both boomer and senior groups were those that were located close to public transportation, had a qualified staff, good quality and up-to-date equipment, a friendly staff and volunteers and a wide range of activities. More participants classified as "seniors" responded that facilities closer to home and facilities that had good lighting and signage were important. The topmost preference for the participants classified as boomers was choosing a facility for the wide range of activities. For both cohort groups, it was relatively unimportant that facilities had cafés or kitchens on site, or that they had easy parking or modern, appealing décor or furniture or spaces (see Table 4).

Another important factor to successful programming is recognizing when participants are able to attend. Given the dynamic of the seniors (most are retired

and have minimal commitments) to that of the boomer (most working full time and some still raising children) the demands of facility scheduling can be quite challenging. There is nothing worse than offering a program on a day that does not work for the cohort at hand. The question in this subscale was, "what time/day would be most convenient for you to visit senior leisure facilities?" and "what days are you most likely to participate in leisure activities?" For both the boomer and senior groups, the preferred time for visiting senior leisure facilities was reported being between 9:00 a.m. and noon. The participants classified as "seniors" preferred this time slot (92.3%) over the group (58.3%) classified as "boomers." The least preferential time slot for both groups was evening – early to late evening. More seniors (87.5%) reported a preference for Friday as the day they

would most likely participate in leisure activities, and more boomers (83.3%) chose Thursday as their preferred day for leisure. Least preferential for both boomer and senior groups for leisure participation were Saturday and Sunday.

DISCUSSION

It is the opinion of the researchers that not much is known about the specific leisure preferences of this growing cohort of people, especially in the U.K., and how they differ from seniors. More and more, baby boomers as a group are emerging in their distinctness, often being described as vastly different from the seniors in almost every aspect of their lives. For example, for the first time, we have a generation of people who are entering retirement with extensive knowledge of the Internet, who are healthier, more active, energetic,

TABLE 3. Comparison of Boomers' and Seniors' Likelihood of Choosing Type of Leisure Programming

	Percentage Likely	Percentage Not Likely	χ^2
The Arts			.352
Boomers (n = 12)	75.0%	25.0%	
Seniors (n = 29)	65.5%	34.5%	
Literary			1.779
Boomers (n = 12)	75.0%	25.0%	
Seniors (n = 25)	52.0%	48.0%	
Aquatics			.936
Boomers (n = 11)	36.4%	63.6%	
Seniors (n = 28)	53.6%	46.4%	
Sports			.023
Boomers (n = 11)	54.5%	45.5%	
Seniors (n = 27)	51.9%	48.1%	
Outdoor			4.096*
Boomers (n = 12)	91.7%	8.3%	
Seniors (n = 27)	59.3%	40.7%	
Social Recreation			.278
Boomers (n = 13)	76.9%	23.1%	
Seniors (n = 28)	64.3%	35.7%	
Self-Improvement			1.668
Boomers (n = 12)	66.7%	33.3%	
Seniors (n = 25)	44.0%	56.0%	
Health and Wellness			1.693
Boomers (n = 13)	92.3%	7.7%	
Seniors (n = 28)	75.0%	25.0%	
Hobbies			.062
Boomers (n = 11)	54.5%	45.5%	
Seniors (n = 24)	50.0%	50.0%	
Travel and Tourism			.010
Boomers (n = 13)	84.6%	15.4%	
Seniors (n = 24)	83.3%	16.7%	
Volunteering			1.084
Boomers (n = 13)	61.5%	38.5%	
Seniors (n = 23)	43.5%	56.5%	

*p-value significant at the .05 level.

TABLE 4. Percentage Comparison to the Question, "When choosing a facility, which of the following are important?"

Variable	Important for Boomers	Important for Seniors
Good quality/ up to date equipment	91.7%	88.9%
Modern, appealing décor/furniture/space	41.7%	50.0%
Friendly staff and volunteers	91.7%	96.6%
Good lighting and signage	58.3%	78.3%
Wide range of activities	100.0%	87.5%
Qualified staff	91.7%	100.0%
Close to public transportation*	84.6%	100.0%
Close to home	45.5%	69.0%
Easy parking	37.5%	23.5%
Café/Kitchen on site	45.5%	50.0%

*Difference between observed and expected frequencies for this category was statistically significant at the .05 level ($\chi^2 = 4.841$, p =.028).

opinionated, demanding and more vigorous than the seniors who went before them (Sperazza, 2008; Joseph, 2009). The purpose of this study was to understand what tomorrow's seniors (today's boomers) are searching for in terms of community leisure needs as perceived by their value structure, and to discover, along the way, the various differences between the boomer and senior groups.

Surprisingly, the demands of baby boomers, while perceived to be very different from those of seniors, in this study actually were very similar. The data revealed that the members of the community center of the Borough of Wandworth, London collectively had similar preferences regarding their values. With regard to the type of leisure programming preferred by both groups, it was notable that the boomer group selected leisure programming related to outdoor activity a lot more often than the group. This may speak to the fact that boomers, as the literature indicates, are indeed more vigorous or more interested in physical activity than are seniors. Finally, it was also interesting to note that 100% of the seniors and 84.6% of the boomers indicated that they would be more likely to join a facility that was close to public transportation. There is support in the research literature for this as well. According to the Office of National Statistics (2009), older women in the U.K. are more likely to access public transport than men. In our sample, 76.9% of the boomers were female and 83.3% of the seniors were female.

The study captured a small glimpse of the preferences of the group in the Borough of Wandsworth, London. Their habits, values and preferences could be used as a starting point for professionals interested in tailoring leisure programming targeted toward a group similar to this one. Clearly, the popularity of the boomer generation has the recreation professional rethinking and eliminating traditional stereotypes about the elderly or retired people to effectively meet their needs. Traditional activities that were popular among seniors will now be changed to high-energy group exercise classes, Nintendo Wii video game tournaments, and travel clubs that incorporate volunteerism and educational components. With only 52 respondents it is difficult to generalize however, the data results provide valuable information to recreation professionals in the Borough of Wandsworth, London. This needed information helps to show what drives leisure participation between boomers and seniors. Additional research could include not only an increased sample size, but also examination of gender between cohorts and personal interviews. Generalizability of the results was affected by the small sample size and the non-probability sampling procedure.

Summary

The baby boomers are the dominant generation of this century. Recreation and leisure will be influenced by this dominance until the group behind it, "Generation X," enters the retirement stage of life. These influences have long-term implications for current and future recreation professionals. As boomers age, the look, meaning, experience, and purpose of maturity will be transformed. Due to the significant increase in the aging of our society and the fact that boomers are unlike any other generation, it is imperative that recreation professionals are prepared to provide leisure programs and services to this new cohort. This study showed that non moral leisure values influenced leisure activity choices. It is also necessary for recreation and park professionals to develop a schedule of programs which maximizes attendance and patron satisfaction. Evidence shows that recreation professionals can anticipate an active, educated, affordable, and physically fit new customer who is of retirement age. If what we know is true, today's practice of leisure programming will have to break out of isolation to meet the demands and expectations before them.

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JUPTRR

STUDY ABROAD IN THE RECREATION CURRICULUM:
A STUDENT PERSPECTIVE

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The purpose of this mixed-method study was to investigate student perceptions towards study abroad. In particular, attitudes, motivations, and perceived barriers were investigated using a survey instrument. The impacts of short term, faculty-led study abroad programs were analyzed using semi-structured interviews and grounded theory. The survey instrument was administered to 240 students enrolled in recreation classes in the fall of 2008. Data were analyzed using a statistical software package and showed that students were in general very interested in study abroad and perceived money and time as their main constraints to do so. The most popular programs were found to be short term programs with faculty and students from the same university, with the most attractive locations being Western Europe followed by Central America. Through in-depth, semi-structured interviews with fifteen students who studied abroad through a large public university in winter 2009, several themes emerged pertaining to impacts on student learning and development. The constant comparison method of grounded theory revealed that students felt an increase in self-confidence, became more socially aware, and changed their perspective towards the country visited as well as what it means to be American. All students felt their experience was beneficial and would recommend it to their friends. Following the tradition of grounded theory, a model of the study abroad process was developed. The model includes barriers and motives to studying abroad, the actual experience, and impacts derived from it. The needs for debriefing students upon their return as well as other implications for further research and study abroad administrators are discussed.

Study-abroad has become a valued experience in American colleges and universities for students, professors, and administrators alike (Farrell, 2007). With schools providing more access to study abroad programs, students have more variety in selecting a program that will fit with their needs. However, while 80% of Americans believe that study abroad is important, only one percent actually participates each year (Hubbs, 2006). Approximately 190,000 students study abroad each year, and more than 30,000 students and recent graduates of U.S. colleges and universities participate yearly in work abroad programs, internships, volunteer assignments, teaching positions, and paid summer jobs abroad (Hubbs, 2006). It is growing in popularity (Gardner & Witherell, 2004). This trend is partly due to the fact that students and institutions of higher education are becoming increasingly aware that an international education is necessary to function effectively in a global environment. By 2016, about one million American students will be studying abroad each year, a goal set by the Lincoln Commission (Farell, 2007).

Study abroad, in particular, has been researched since the mid 1950's (Herman, 1996). The end of World War II brought a great interest in global affairs both in the United States and internationally. In Europe, the French president Charles de Gaulle and the German chancellor Konrad Adenaur signed into effect treaties of German- French cooperation in 1963. The German-French Youth Association was further set up in 1963 as part of the Elysée Contract with the aim of ending the age old German-French opposition. In particular, article two of the contract states: "The youth office has the task of tightening the bonds between youth of both countries and deepening the understanding of each other; to this end to stimulate, promote and where necessary enforce youth movement and youth exchange" (as cited in Office Franco-Allemand pour la Jeunesse, n.d.). The association has since enabled about eight million youths to participate in close to 300,000 exchange programs. While this program has been very successful in promoting peace through tourism, other research has shown negative or ambivalent results of attitude change through tourism (Pizam, Jafari & Milman, 1991; Krippendorf, 1982; Nyaupane, Teye & Paris, 2008).

Nonetheless, the benefits of study abroad to the individual have been widely researched and are well known (Dwyer & Peters, 2004; Carsello & Greaser, 1976). Several studies refer to positive impacts of study abroad (Morgan, 1975; Nash, 1976; Stephenson, 1999). Various studies have shown that studying abroad leads to personal growth (Baty & Dold, 1977; Todd, 2001; Farell & Suvedi, 2003). A recent study on cultural awareness administered through a pre- and post-test design to business student participants of a summer study abroad program in London, England indicates that the program enhances cultural awareness and personal development (Black & Duhon, 2006). Another study finds that students studied abroad to enhance their cross-cultural skills, to become more proficient in the subject matter, and to socialize. Impacts include improvement in the students' overall cross-cultural skills and global understanding but more importantly, the goal to study abroad influences the intensity of the outcomes. The authors conclude that the greater the desire to study abroad, the greater the increase in cultural competence and global awareness (Kitsantas, 2004).

If educators in the field of recreation and leisure studies are truly going to contribute to the goal of the Lincoln Commission and have more students study abroad, there is a need for knowledge about what types of programs would attract the most students. However, little is known about why students hesitate to study abroad and what would motivate them to do so. This study examined college students' interest in, and perceived

barriers to, studying abroad as well as the impacts of the programs.

Method

This study used a mixed-method approach. In depth, semi-structured interviews were held with fifteen students that had just completed a short-term study abroad program to assess the impacts these programs had on them. Quantitative data were collected to assess the perceived barriers, interests and motivations of students to study abroad. An electronic survey was administered to 240 undergraduate students enrolled in classes in the recreation and leisure studies program of a public university in the western United States in the fall of 2008. The survey was pilot tested twice in order to ensure reliability and validity. After making several adjustments, the final survey proved to test reliably over time and accurately tested what it was supposed to measure. The questionnaire consisted of demographic information including Likert-type scales of interest in, and perceived barriers to, studying abroad. The scales ranged from one (not at all interested) to five (extremely interested). Furthermore, students were asked to rank interest in short and long-term off campus study and destinations. The sample consisted of 240 usable surveys, of which 30% were males and 70% were females, which approximates U.S. college enrollment by gender. Recreation majors comprised 57% of the sample and non- majors in General Education classes offered by the Recreation Department comprised 43% of the sample. The majority of students taking the survey were upper classmen. Forty percent of the sample were juniors and 38% seniors.

In order to gain a more in-depth understanding of the impacts of study abroad programs, qualitative data was collected through in-depth, semi-structured interviews with students who returned from short-term, faculty-led study abroad trips during the 2009 winter session. The pre-structured interview guide used by the researcher ensured that all research questions were adequately answered, and specifically asked about feelings towards the study abroad class, if and how the class has changed them, what they learned from their study abroad class, and if their perspective towards the host country changed.

Using purposive sampling, the researchers added more diversity to the sample with each new interviewee by including male and female students, students who had previously studied abroad and students who just returned from their first overseas trip, as well as students who went to locations as diverse as Greece, Tanzania, or Belize (Charmaz, 2006). The fifteen interviews were taped and transcribed. Pseudonyms were given to each student in the process of transcribing, in order to protect their identities and ensure confidentiality. The constant comparative method of grounded theory was used to analyze data (Creswell, 1998; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). These authors proposed a three-fold coding process consisting of open coding, axial coding and selective coding. In open coding, the researcher identifies, labels, and names different phenomena by carefully reading the textual data numerous times. Step two in this process is known as axial coding, and refers to the process of relating the different codes or categories to each other. Selective coding is the final step in the process of creating a theory. The researcher selects one core category (or theme) and describes how all phenomena and categories are related. Following the constant comparative method, the researcher codes the different cases and different categories, which are constantly compared with each other, the emerging themes and theory. Data were triangulated in multiple ways. Member checks allowed the students to re-read the transcribed textual data and comment on their interviews, as well as add to or delete what they felt necessary. The interviews were read and coded by two authors and themes compared.

Results reflected findings of similar studies and opinions of experts in the study abroad field, which seemed to further validate the data. In qualitative research the terms "reliability" and "validity" cannot be applied as such since the aim of qualitative grounded theory research is not to find generalizable results, but rather to acquire an in-depth understanding of a specific sample. Instead, research suggests using concepts such as trustworthiness and rigor. Through prolonged engagement and persistent observation the researcher adds depth to his study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Furthermore, credibility of the study was ensured using triangulation and member checks by sharing results with interviewees. Findings were further compared to other sources, such as participant observation, previous research, and literature. Independent reviews of the textual data by two different researchers aimed at ensuring that themes were adequate and trustworthy. Lincoln and Guba (1985) furthermore suggest that external validity as such is not a valid concept in qualitative research, instead how transferable the findings are to other samples and contexts should be determined by the reader of the study.

Results

As mentioned in the methods section, this study employed a mixed-methods approach. This approach was chosen to get the most reliable data possible. For the pre-study abroad variables, the researchers wanted to access a large enough sample of students to get a valid understanding of the interest in types of programs, content, motivations, and barriers to study abroad. An electronic survey was chosen to have access to a large student population of which only a small percentage would study abroad. In order to be able to gain a more in-depth understanding of a small sample of students and their attitudes and perceived impacts of a previous study abroad experience, semi-structured interviews were chosen as the approach for the post study abroad variables. This section will first discuss the survey results (barriers, motivations, interest in specific programs) and then describe the interview data on impacts.

Survey data were analyzed using a statistical software package (SPSS) and the main findings are summarized here. Almost all students have always lived in the United States (87.7%). Over two-thirds (69.7%) stated that English is the only language spoken in their home. Furthermore, 70% of the respondents own a passport and 82.2% have traveled outside of the United States. Of the students who have traveled outside the United States, 94.7% have either been to Mexico and/or Canada. Russia and the Baltic States were the least traveled area by the students with two percent. While most students have been out of the United States, only 13.0% have actually studied abroad before. Of those who studied abroad before, 84.6% did so during college, while 15.4% did so during high school. Most of the programs were long-term study abroad programs (53.8%), defined as eight or more weeks. Additionally, of the students who studied abroad, most first became interested when a friend encouraged them to study abroad (30%), a professor encouraged them (25%), or they saw brochures, or posters, or signs with study abroad information (25%). The main motivations for these students to study abroad were for adventure (92.3%), because they were curious to see another culture (80.8%), and they thought it would improve their education (73.1%).

Data showed that most students did not report many barriers to study abroad. Lack of interest, being responsible for children or older adults, being afraid to go abroad, food, language and safety were all not important barriers for the students. The main barriers were money (67%), followed by time (wanting to graduate as fast as possible) for 48% of the students.

Overall, the majority of students (72%) expressed a lot of interest in study abroad programs, with 42.5 % being either extremely or very interested in study abroad. Another 30 % stated they were interested in study abroad. Most students preferred a short-term study abroad program (eight weeks or less) with other students and faculty from the same institution (a combined 79.5% were interested, very interested, or extremely interested), followed by a semester abroad with other American students (43% stated they were either extremely or very interested in that option). Students were least interested in a full academic year abroad. Only 18% of students were either extremely or very interested in studying abroad for a full year. When asked how likely they were to study abroad for either a semester, short-term program or academic year, 57% of the students stated they were most likely to enroll in a short-term program with faculty and students from the same institution. The most popular study abroad destinations, as expressed by students in this sample, were Western Europe (65% were extremely or very interested) followed by Central America (46% extremely or very interested). The least popular destinations seemed to be Africa (26%) and Asia (26%). Students were furthermore asked about interest in specific content areas of study abroad programs. The most popular content areas were soft adventure activities (80%), learning about and trying local food (72%), learning about the culture and local customs (69%), learning about the marine environment (68%), natural areas and jungles (65%) and hands on learning and community service (61%).

Upon returning from their study abroad experience, fifteen students were interviewed using in-depth, semi-structured interviews in order to gain a broader understanding of the ways in which their experiences abroad had impacted them. Table 1 summarizes the interview questions, corresponding themes and subthemes.

INTERVIEW QUESTION ONE: LEARNING ABOUT BEING AMERICAN/ AMERICAN CULTURE

Interview responses showed that students reflected on both negative and positive aspects of the American culture based on the contrast with the culture visited. All students noted how America has a lot of excess and abundance. Andy (pseudonym used) for example stated: "Being American, we live in such luxury and abundance of electricity, water, food, and so on." Ten of the fifteen students expressed concern about the consumptiveness/wastefulness of Americans when compared to the way of life in the country visited. For example, Littleton stated that she was surprised that: "We waste a lot of water and electricity. We just have a lot of things that we really don't need that we think we need but we can clearly get by without them if we just took the time to realize it. We don't need phones and iPods and TVs and while those are all great things, we are lucky to have them, but we don't need them." After studying abroad, Valencia thinks that we as Americans are spoiled and "that we consume a lot more than we need to." Horatio agreed with this by stating that we are "very wasteful with our resources." Another theme that evolved is a new reflection of American culture, especially the elements of time pressure and fear. Megan reflected that, "In America, our culture is based on time and consumerism. It is hard to see that when you are

wrapped up in it. Getting out of the country, it was easy to see how we are stuck in schedules and consuming. Our lives are based on schedules, whereas here (in host country) life is based on the things that need to get done not when." Students commented on how fast and sterile American culture seemed when they returned and how lives in countries they went to were based on natural rhythms. People seemed to be less stressed, even though physically they worked harder. Kat gave a good summary of how she felt American culture is fear-based: "I feel that the way I live my life is based on fear. I feel like in some ways we are scared into living a particular way of life. There is so much of my life that is devoted to being protected from any possibility of discomfort or pain, I worry excessively about things I cannot control." She later recounts how stepping out of her comfort zone while traveling abroad helped her overcome some of that fear.

INTERVIEW QUESTION TWO: CHANGES OF AWARENESS IN STUDENT

One of the major themes that demonstrated how students have changed is an increased social awareness. Specifically, Katrina (pseudonym used), a 27-year old graduate Recreation student who went to Central America stated, "I feel like I am more aware of people and my surround-

TABLE 1. Interview Themes	
Interview Questions	Themes

As you reflect on your experience, did you learn anything about being American/ the American culture? If so what?	1. Excess/Abundance
	2. Consumptiveness
	3. Culture
	   3.1 Fear
	   3.2 Time Pressure

Do you feel like you changed as a result of your study abroad experience? If so how?	1. Increased social awareness
	   1.1 Respect
	   1.2 Guilt
	2. Leadership
	3. Feelings of achievement
	4. Self-reflection
	5. Self-confidence

Did you learn anything about the culture of the country you visited that you would want to remember?	1. Perspective change 2. People getting along 3. Using what they have
Have you tried to change anything in your own life based on your travels? If so what?	1. Critical thinking 2. Small steps to do your part
If a student asked you about study abroad what would you tell them?	1. It's important 2. Overcoming fears 2.1 Less afraid 3. Encouraging others

ings and other people's surroundings and where they live and what kind of conditions they live in and what kind of conditions I live in and things that I can change to make the world a better place and just making others aware that there's just really good things about Belize and they just don't have to think it's a third-world country." Students further showed an increase of social awareness by stating that their study abroad experience has led them to respect the other culture and religion. In some cases, this increased awareness led students to feel a sense of guilt, as in the case of Tara Wynn (pseudonym used), a 22-year old senior Recreation student, who stated, "it makes me feel guilty about things that we have and….things we take for granted. Maybe things we shouldn't even have….It makes me question if what we have really makes us happy or not." Besides learning about the country visited and reflecting on one's own and other cultures, students reported that study abroad allowed them to reflect on themselves and their place in the world. Derrick (pseudonym used), a 29-year old graduate Education student supported this by stating "I think that traveling just in general allows you to kind of reflect upon yourself so…I'd say that it helped me find who I am and how to feel more comfortable with myself or those around me."

Other students such as Jeraldo, a 22-year old senior History major who went to Greece, stated that he gained leadership skills and self-confidence because he did "something new, something different, and…something unknown and everyone that did go was stepping out of their comfort zones and being a leader." Mar, a 24-year old senior Recreation student agreed and noted, "[I] definitely felt more confident. I can do more things because I have been abroad." Littleton stated that she left her experience with feelings of achievement. To support this, she stated it is "something to add to…not my resume, but my…list of achievements of things that I've done, and it makes me feel more accomplished and like I've achieved a lot of the things that I want to." The interview results showed that stepping out of the student's comfort zone was a key factor for the students to grow and learn about themselves. Overcoming these uneasy and new situations allowed the students to reflect. Kat gave a good account of how stepping out of her comfort zone during her experience impacted her by stating:

This trip showed me a different way of looking at things. I was put in an environment without a lot of protection and comforts. I was uncomfortable, uneasy, and then I relaxed. I got used

to it. I had to make adjustments within myself to stay open to the experience. I survived discomfort and grew because of it.

The culture shock Kat described enabled her to learn, reflect and grow (Adler, 1985).

INTERVIEW QUESTION THREE: HOST CULTURE

Students also expressed learning a lot about the countries they visited, resulting in a perspective change on each of the respective countries. Michaels stated that his "perspective changed in Turkey because I ran into a lot of friendly people there. Everyone was very welcoming and very nice. And I wasn't scared…when you get out there and understand them, they're really nice, good people." Megan, who traveled to Central America, agreed commenting:

I am more open to the customs of other cultures. Before, I thought they might have more crime; I might get sick or kidnapped all those things that our American culture tells us. I feel like they use this propaganda to keep us in the hotels and tourist attractions run by American companies. I am no longer afraid of experiencing other cultures in depth.

Smith added that "you kind of look at things differently and…you're more respectful about what you have like water, I didn't realize how valuable water is." Valencia further added a personal anecdote about her trip: "It sounds silly and whatnot, but being in the jungle and like holding alligators and tarantulas…. when my girlfriend or somebody freaks out about a spider or something, I'm like 'that's not a spider…you want to know what a spider looks like?' It kind of puts everything in perspective in many ways."

Several of the students commented on how people get along. Valencia said that what stood out was "that there were people from so many different backgrounds and living so close together and…from our experience; they got along really, really well in the areas that we visited." Horatio added that the people of the host country were "very friendly…. they honk at each other to say hi….It's a simpler way of life…That's the whole charm of the country. If it got really industrialized and more built up, it would lose its charm."

Finally, several students noted the fact that locals use "everything they have," referring to the ability to make things work on limited budgets and resources. Horatio noticed that in Belize "they definitely use everything they have." Smith also added the same idea about Tanzania in that "it is

a very, very poor country, but they definitely work with what they have." This idea stands in stark contrast to the consumerist society these students grew up in, enabled a reflection on values, what it means to be happy and goals in life.

INTERVIEW QUESTION FOUR: TRANSFER TO OWN LIFE

When asked if these observations changed their own behaviors upon return from their study abroad experience, several students reported trying to make certain lifestyle changes and noted that it just takes small steps to protect the environment and conserve. For example, returning from a trip that included a homestay with limited electricity and water, Littleton noticed "little things like turning off the lights when leaving the room or turning water off when brushing my teeth. Just making little changes even though it doesn't make a huge difference, in the grand scheme of things, those are all things that we can change." Valencia also noticed that he does not use as much water and is mindful of conserving water. Smith also stated that he is more conscientious with water because he does not "take as long of showers. That was a big change." Finally, Horatio said that "now I turn off all the lights. Before, in the morning when I would get ready, I would turn them all on and leave them on even if I wasn't in the room." She recycles more and is more aware of what she throws away. Several students commented on how they became more interested in different topics to study or different graduate programs, and how they now are more aware of different ways to travel and destinations to go see. The most common theme students reported is trying to remember some of the clarities they felt as a result of their stay in a different culture. Agnes put it this way: "In my life I would like to retain the sense of calm and ability to be present and live in the moment instead of constantly worrying about what I need to do and where I need to be next. I also want to keep in mind what I 'need' versus what I 'want'." Kat added, "I definitely changed. I am more prepared to be active in my life, more open to new ideas. Also, this might be weird, but here I was complaining that I cannot straighten my hair for two weeks and these women spend their whole lives taking care of people. They were naturally beautiful. I am usually overly hard on me in that respect and I realize that now." Traveling as part of a structured short-term study-abroad program allowed these students to take a step away from their lives, comfort zones, and culture and look at themselves and their life. As a result, they gained an

enhanced sense of introspection and clarity about their own lives, which changed them. Andy agreed by stating, "I feel like I have changed. I do not always feel the need to be all made up or dress to impress. Everybody in that country seemed so relaxed, not worried about their looks but rather their families." Jen also commented how she changed on her trip, from the destinations and how she wants to travel, to looking into new graduate school options to wanting to really live abroad for one year. She concluded by stating, "A lot of us felt our lives had turned around for the better, it is nothing you could hope to find in the safety of staying home."

INTERVIEW QUESTION FIVE: PERCEPTIONS ON STUDY ABROAD

All students interviewed recommend studying abroad and said they suggested it to several of their friends. Kat specifically said, "I would completely recommend the experience. In the two weeks I was gone I learned and grew so much." Jas added, "It was the most amazing thing I have ever done. That is what I keep telling everyone about my trip." Jenn stated, "I would tell them to go now before they make any more major life decisions. Studying abroad will change your life forever." Lola stated in summary, "I would 100% recommend it. Studying abroad opens your eyes. It helps you step back from your regular life and gives you a new perspective."

DISCUSSION

It has been argued that study abroad has the potential to allow for contemplation, introspection, a renewed awareness of one's own culture and a new worldview. This study furthermore showed that in order to attract the most students, programs should be short-term (eight weeks or less) with other students and faculty from the same institution. The most popular destination for students in recreation classes were Western Europe followed by Central America. Lack of money and time were the biggest barriers to students' ability to study abroad, while adventure, seeing another culture and improved education were the main motivations. However, students did not view study abroad as only a resume builder, they wanted to experience another culture and learn about the history, food, people, and perhaps most important of all, themselves.

After students return from a study abroad program, they experience an increase in self-confidence and self-esteem. When students go abroad, they make friendships with fellow students and natives of the country. Stepping out of their comfort zones, they do things they might not normally do in the United States, like trying new foods, activities, and entertainment, thereby gaining self-confidence and a new perspective on the world. These ideas are mirrored by several quantitative studies. For example, Robalik (2006) stated that the three statements students agreed with the most were that studying abroad "contributed to my overall understanding of the country I studied in" (mean = 4.76), that studying abroad "enhanced my independence" (mean = 4.56) and finally that it "increased my open-mindedness" (mean = 4.52).

Over the years, many studies have shown that studying abroad leads to personal growth (Baty & Dold, 1977; Carsello & Greaser, 1976; Farrell & Suvedi, 2003; Kuh & Kauffman, 1985; Nash, 1976; Todd, 2001). Many other studies have also looked at the relationship between personal development through study abroad and gender, previous overseas experience, and duration of the program that this particular study did not examine. Most studies have agreed that study abroad is a positive experience for most students (Farrell & Suvedi, 2003; Kuh & Kauffman, 1985). When looking at the themes that evolved from this study, one can see that most impacts are related to the concept of personal development (Chickering & Reisser, 1993).

CREATION OF A STUDY ABROAD MODEL

It became apparent during the course of this study that the impacts of study abroad are dependent not only on the motivation to study abroad, how the actual experience is framed and facilitated (i.e. out of comfort zone experiences), but also how the experience is debriefed. The instructor can facilitate student learning through activities like journaling or daily debriefings, enabling the student to reflect. The more drastic the cultural differences are that students experience, the more need for an in depth facilitation on how to deal with reversed culture shock. The following model was created to show the entire process of short-term, faculty-led study abroad programs in hopes that it will help administrators in making decisions, as well as guide future research. It consists of two categories of pre-study abroad issues—the desires to study abroad and the barriers to study abroad. The actual faculty-led, short-term travel study experience follows and is shown in the center of the model. Finally, and most importantly, this leads to a variety of outcomes including making lifestyle changes, learning about what it means to be an American (for better or for worse), learning more about the country that was visited, and experiencing some kind of change in self-concept. Administrators can market and design study abroad experiences based on adventure, seeing new cultures and enhancing education, all pre-trip attributes shown in the model under motivations. The best ways to market are through word of mouth from previous study abroad participants, professors and promotional flyers or posters. Faculty-led programs, which include elements of cultural immersion, such as homestays or community service, and are designed in a way to put the students slightly out of their comfort zone, are the center of the model (Figure 1). This type of experience, facilitated by a faculty member, leads to the impacts shown in the model. As mentioned before, facilitation of the experience should also include a debriefing of the entire program and how to apply the learned upon return to the home culture.

CONCLUSION

This model is a first attempt to analyze the different factors in the study abroad process from fears and motivations to the actual experience and finally outcomes. Future research could help refine this model. Much research has been done on the actual outcomes; however, more research could be done about the center piece of the model. What attributes of the actual study abroad experience influence how much or what a student retains? Findings from this study, for example, seem to suggest that a "stepping out of comfort zones" was vital to student learning. More research is needed in the area of specific student attributes and how these influence feelings towards study abroad programs and outcomes. As an example, research on gender and study abroad has been inconclusive with one study suggesting gender differences and others not (Baty & Dold, 1977; Farell & Suvadi, 2003; Dukes et al., 1994). Finally, more research is needed to better understand the pre-trip attributes that either constrain or motivate students to participate. Implications for study- abroad administrators were discussed, and include marketing through professors and word of mouth, offering short-term programs with enough change to allow students to slightly step out of their comfort zone, marketing for adventure and
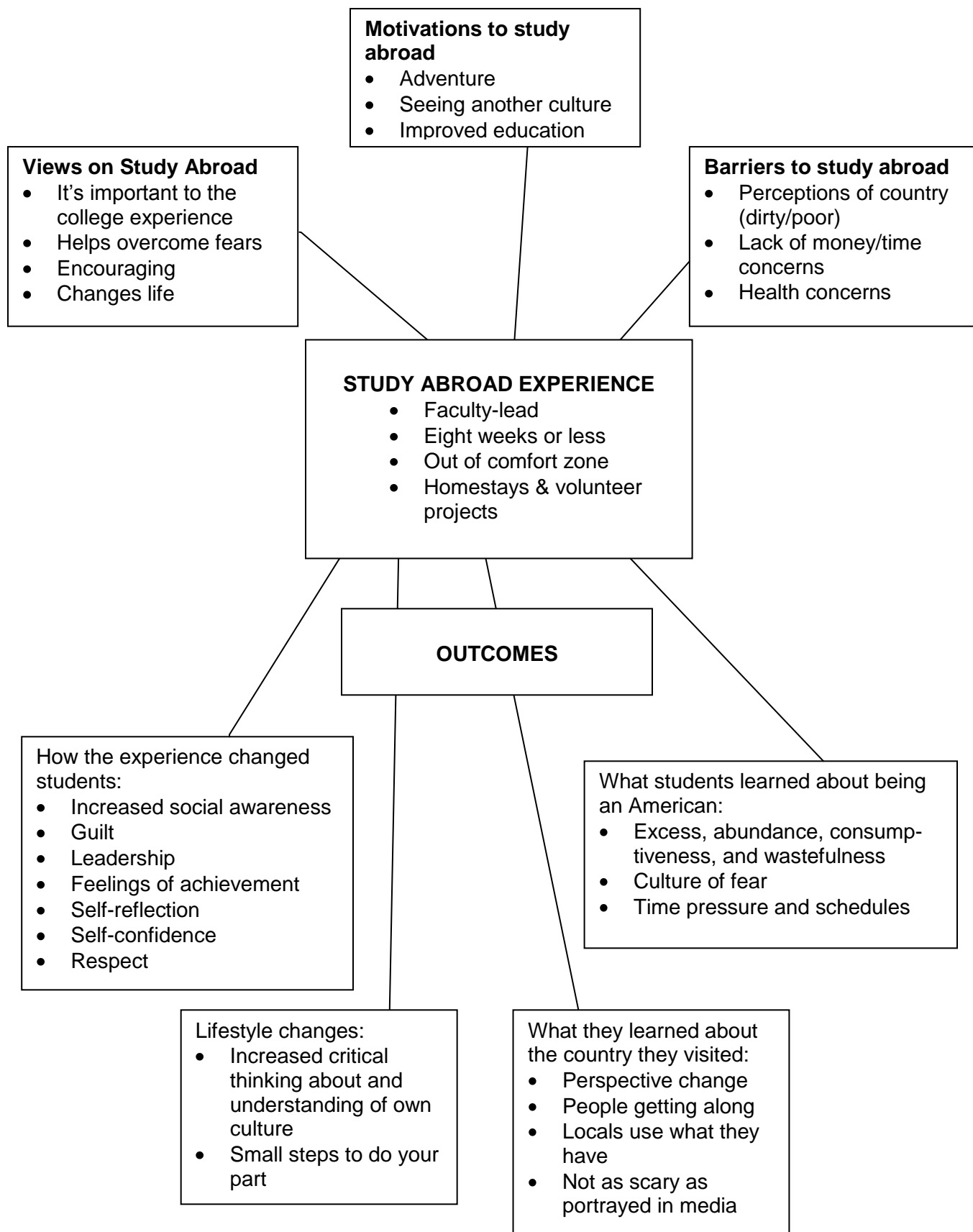
cultural immersion and lastly debriefing the experience.

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FIGURE 1. Study Abroad Model

Motivations to study abroad
- Adventure
- Seeing another culture
- Improved education

Views on Study Abroad
- It's important to the college experience
- Helps overcome fears
- Encouraging
- Changes life

Barriers to study abroad
- Perceptions of country (dirty/poor)
- Lack of money/time concerns
- Health concerns

STUDY ABROAD EXPERIENCE
- Faculty-lead
- Eight weeks or less
- Out of comfort zone
- Homestays & volunteer projects

OUTCOMES

How the experience changed students:
- Increased social awareness
- Guilt
- Leadership
- Feelings of achievement
- Self-reflection
- Self-confidence
- Respect

What students learned about being an American:
- Excess, abundance, consumptiveness, and wastefulness
- Culture of fear
- Time pressure and schedules

Lifestyle changes:
- Increased critical thinking about and understanding of own culture
- Small steps to do your part

What they learned about the country they visited:
- Perspective change
- People getting along
- Locals use what they have
- Not as scary as portrayed in media

FAMILY CAREGIVERS:
AN UNTAPPED TRAVEL MARKET

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The purpose of this study was to investigate constraints to pleasure travel for family caregivers, specifically addressing constraints encountered from the industry's service provision providers. Data represented family caregivers' perceptions of physical, emotional, and social constraints that impact their leisure travel opportunities. Using a subset of data from a larger study that generated five constraints to leisure travel, this study focused only on the Service Provision factor that addressed physical and social accessibility of accommodations and services. Results showed that family caregivers not only missed their pleasure travel due to caregiving, but their travel-related decisions were shaped by their level of confidence in service provision. Recommendations address not only issues related to accessibility, but also ensuring that travel professionals are sensitive to unique travel needs of this travel market.

Family caregivers are a hidden segment of the population that has the potential to become a viable pleasure travel target market. Unlike other target markets, such as "baby boomers," mature travelers, or even people with disabling conditions, family caregivers are unique and complex in their needs and constraints regarding travel. As a result, this population cannot be addressed by standard travel industry service provision approaches. Instead, the service provision industry needs to understand family caregivers in the context of their relationships to their care-recipients. Unfortunately, while recent research examines the market of baby boomers as well as mature adults (e.g., Administration on Aging, 2007; AARP, 2007; TIA, 2004), and travelers with disabilities, (e.g., Burnett & Bender-Baker, 2001; Daniels, Rodgers, & Wiggins, 2005; Mactavish, MacKay, Iwasaki, & Betteridge, 2007; Yan, McKercher, & Packer, 2004), there has been little research conducted to understand the constraints to pleasure travel for family caregivers.

Family caregivers can be seen as a niche travel market that is expected to expand greatly over the next several decades. According to the Administration on Aging (2007), the U. S. population that is 65 years and over will increase from 35 million in 2000 to 55 million in 2020. Similarly, the "85+" population is projected to increase from 4.2 million in 2000 to 7.3 million in 2020. As defined by the Family Caregiver Support Network, a family caregiver is "a spouse, adult child, other relative or friend who helps, cares for or is concerned about an older adult" (Interfaith Older Adult Programs, n.d., para.1). Many family caregivers fall within the age-range of the baby boomer population (individuals born between 1946 and 1964), which is becoming a large portion of mature adults with discretionary money and time. These data have strong implications for the travel industry's ability to meet the needs of the ever-growing travel market of family caregivers. These family members who care for their loved ones also seek travel opportunities. However, they often desire to travel with their care-recipient (their spouse or parent who has a disability), and subsequently are presenting new challenges to the travel industry.

Positive travel experiences are very important to one's quality of life. Unfortunately, studies have shown that people with mental and/or physical disabilities have limited involvement in leisure travel compared to non-disabled populations (e.g., Mactavish, MacKay, Iwasaki, & Betteridge, 2007; Yan, McKercher, & Packer, 2004). Perhaps this is due, in part, to the lack of preparation and accommodations required for the caregiver to have quality experiences. In an analysis of the "tourism-driven" agencies, Stumbo and Pegg (2005) report that "despite national efforts to regulate accessibility, many individuals [with disabilities] find travel and tourism destinations to be unwelcoming" (p. 206). Burnett and Bender-Baker (2001) suggest that the travel industry has been slow to accommodate "different" capabilities among people with disabilities concluding that the "mobility-disabled" market "may be a profitable segment for the travel industry to target, if properly positioned" (p. 10).

The data about travelers with disabilities have direct implications for family caregivers as well, who are often the travel companion to individuals with disabilities. As the number of people with disabilities (50 million currently) in the US increases, the number of family caregivers can also be expected to grow quite rapidly as well. Recent estimates suggest that over 44 million people provide unpaid care for a family member or friend who is disabled, ill, or aged (National Alliance of Caregiving and The American Association of Retired Persons, 2004 [NAC/AARP]). Over half of these primary caregivers are 65 years of age or older.

Similar to other groups within this age cohort, caregivers report that pleasure travel (with or without their care-recipient) is an important leisure pursuit, but that they often desire travel with their care-recipient. For many, traveling with a loved one is a central focus of their meaningful leisure (e.g., Gladwell & Bedini, 2004). Caregivers report, however, that because of caregiving responsibilities, as well as innumerable unknowns regarding travel, they often chose to limit or give up this activity (e.g., Bedini & Gladwell, 2006; Chakrabarti, Kulhara, & Verma, 1993; Gladwell & Bedini, 2004; NAC/AARP, 2004). Additionally, Bedini and Gladwell (2006) examine the importance of "shared leisure" between caregivers and loved ones noting that caregivers would often abandon their travel when their travel companion (frequently their care-recipient) could no longer travel. Reducing or abandoning leisure travel can have physical and emotional consequences as well. Lindgren (1996) found that, in some cases, the inability to pursue travel triggers actual sorrow in caregivers and

care-recipients. Therefore, the loss of travel options is considered a significant enough consequence of caregiving that it is identified as an indicator of strain in the Caregiver Strain Index (Robinson, 1983). One such strain is the caregiver's consideration of their care-recipient's medical issues, which often makes travel prohibitive. Pleasure travel also becomes burdensome when facilities and services are not accommodating. Thus, the industry stands to lose both the individual with the disability as well as their caregiver.

Conceptual Framework

Understanding of the potential factors that may act as barriers to meeting the travel needs of both the caregiver and the care-recipient is necessary in order for the service provider to proactively attempt to reduce or eliminate such constraints. The conceptual framework for this study stems from the body of constraints literature that relates to leisure. While the purpose of this study is not to distinguish the types of constraints experienced by the respondents, it is important to understand the foundations of this conceptual framework. Constraints, which are considered to be more complex than barriers (Jackson & Scott, 1999), consistently have been presented in reference to the hierarchical model of Crawford, Jackson, and Godbey (1991). This model, which identifies three constraints categories (i.e., intrapersonal, interpersonal, and structural), serves as the basis for much of the leisure constraints research (e.g., Crawford & Godbey, 1987; Daniels, Rodgers, & Wiggins, 2005; Gladwell & Bedini, 2004; Henderson, Bedini, Shuler, & Hecht, 1995). This research typically defines intrapersonal constraints as internal factors that may interfere with leisure pursuits (e.g., worry, depression, stress). Interpersonal constraints result from interaction between people (e.g., marital, leisure companion, attitudes of others). Structural constraints involve factors outside of the individual (e. g., weather, finances, access).

With regard to travel, constraints also might be understood through Israeli's (2002) decision-making model. Here a visitor uses two methods, compensatory and non-compensatory, to evaluate a tourism service or attraction. Under the compensatory method of evaluation, undesirable attributes (e.g., stairs, complex layout, lack of sensitivity by staff) can be compensated for by higher levels of desirable attributes (e.g., elevators, directional signage, informed personnel).

Under the non-compensatory method, undesirable attributes cannot be compensated for by a higher level of another attribute. The attributes that are considered non-compensatory are discussed in the literature as barriers or constraints. Therefore, family caregivers who travel with their care-recipients who have disabilities have to use the non-compensatory method more than other travelers because access to specific attributes is necessary in order for them to enjoy their travel experiences (Burns & Graefe, 2007; Israeli, 2002).

In an examination of travel experiences of people with disabilities and their caregivers, Daniels, Rodgers, and Wiggins (2005) identify "travel companion constraint" and "travel companion negotiation" as interpersonal constraint themes (p. 924). These accounts reflect dependence of travelers with disabilities on travel companions (e.g., family caregivers), as well as the importance of a travel companion in overcoming constraints experienced in their travel pursuits. For many caregivers, they have to negotiate travel constraints for their companion with a disability. Therefore, constraints they encounter because of the actions or attitudes of the service provider affect both the traveler with a disability as well as the caregiver. While not all experiences of the subjects in the study are negative, the respondents note specific examples of conditions that restrict their travel experiences (e. g., cleaning crew leaving carts in hallways making it impossible for a wheelchair to pass). Similarly, in a study of only family caregivers, Gladwell and Bedini (2004) find similar experiences suggesting that service providers were "both 'good' and 'bad' in providing accessible services" (p. 690). The respondents note, however, that the attitude and perceive skill levels of some service providers posed a significant constraint. As an example, they note one respondent's comments on how the service providers can make her feel inferior, "as though you are a second-class citizen" (Gladwell & Bedini, 2004, p. 691). As these examples suggest, constraints caregivers face when traveling with their care-recipient are ongoing and interactive.

Goodall, Pottinger, Dixon, and Russell (2005) highlight some of the non-compensatory attributes using the example of historic sites. They indicate that certain constraints, such as access to the site's areas and facilities, cannot be overcome at historic sites; therefore, participants, and many times their caregivers, will decide not to visit the site, opting to choose another destination based solely on the absence of access. In

the case of caregivers, they could decide to visit the site, but at the cost of leaving their care-recipient behind. This scenario, in essence, limits the places that caregivers, as well as their care-recipients, can go and activities in which they can participate while on vacation (Goodall, Pottinger, Dixon, & Russell, 2005). Decisions, then, are made primarily with the care-recipient rather than the caregiver in mind, which compromises the travel experiences of the family caregivers. It is important to note that many of these constraints can be associated with either actual or perceived risks. Even if physical constraints can be negotiated, if either the family caregiver or the care-recipient perceives a high level of risk, they will not participate or travel (Yan, McKercher, & Packer, 2004). Therefore, the purpose of this study is to examine data taken from a larger study that addresses a variety of constraints to the pleasure travel of family caregivers. In particular, this study investigates the constraints that are due to interactions with the travel industry's service providers as encountered by family caregivers when traveling for pleasure.

Methods

Subjects were delimited to individuals who provided primary unpaid caregiving to an adult member of their family (e.g., spouse, parent, relative). These individuals were identified through the coordinators of the caregiver support groups from the 28 agencies listed in AARP's *Family Caregiving in North Carolina (2002) Directory*. To identify willing agencies, the researchers sent an email to a contact person for each of the 28 agencies listed asking if they were willing to help distribute survey packets to potential respondents through their caregiver support groups and related services. Nine agencies responded positively and subsequently four agencies were chosen that represented the four geographical regions of the state (mountains, piedmont, sandhills, and coastal). Each of these areas potentially offered a unique cultural perspective in terms of family caregivers (Bedini & Phoenix, 1999). The survey instrument was disseminated to a total of 870 potential participants who were identified by the four agencies

The instrument was designed to solicit family caregivers' perceptions of physical, emotional, and social barriers that impact their leisure travel opportunities. The survey was comprised of a total of 82 items: 56 items about constraints and 26 demographic questions. Questions

on constraints were developed from quotes and phrases from interviews in an earlier study by Gladwell and Bedini (2004) that addressed family caregivers' constraints to leisure travel. These items addressed structural, intrapersonal, and interpersonal constraints (Crawford et al, 1991) and used a 4-point Likert scale with "4" representing "strongly agree" and "1" representing "strongly disagree." The 26 demographic profile items represented eight basic characteristics (e.g., age, sex, race, education, income); 12 specific questions dealt with the respondents' caregiving duties (e.g., hours and type of support, care-recipient's disability, level of assistance required by care-recipient), and six questions that addressed issues regarding traveling. These items were nominal or open ended.

As there was no comprehensive list of the caregivers who participated in the support groups identified in the *Family Caregiving in North Carolina (2002) Directory*, confidentiality of the subjects warranted the use of liaisons to contact and provide potential subjects with the survey packets. The researchers disseminated the 870 questionnaires requested by caregivers through the four liaisons who were administrators in the identified caregiver agencies. The liaisons distributed coded packets each of which included a cover letter, questionnaire, and self-addressed and stamped return envelope to these family caregivers through support group meetings or direct mailings. The potential respondents were asked to complete the questionnaire and then mail it back to the researchers directly. Reminder postcards were sent to the liaisons to distribute to their respective potential subjects two weeks after the initial mailing. A total of 105 usable surveys were returned for a response rate of 12.0%.

Data were analyzed using SPSS 14.5 for factor analysis, as well as independent t-tests, ANOVAs, and descriptive statistics. Independent t-tests and ANOVAs were run to determine if there were statistically significant differences for the Service Provision factor generated among relevant demographic profile variables.

Results

Initially, principle component factor analysis, with a varimax rotation and a cut-off Eigenvalue of 1.0, was conducted to determine constraints to leisure travel for family caregivers. To determine the internal consistency of the factors, Cronbach's alpha was used. Only items with a loading factor of ≥ .40 were used in

the interpretation of each factor. The 56 constraint items factored into five constraints/dimensions (Environment, Personal Experience, Financial, Shared Leisure, and Service Provision). It should be noted it was not necessary to delete any items due to being loaded on multiple factors.

The focus of this analysis is solely on the factor of *Service Provision*. The Service Provision factor comprised nine items that addressed the accessibility of facilities, accommodations, and services delivered by employees of travel related businesses. In addition, items that addressed lack of knowledge of travel opportunities, pace of guided vacations, inability to trust the knowledge and skills of people providing service, and unwillingness to stay at or visit accommodations that are not accessible were also components of the factor. The Cronbach's alpha for the Service Provision factor was .80.

The small sample size of 105 respondents raises the issue of appropriateness of sample for the factor analysis that was conducted. Tinsley and Tinsley (1987) stated that although factors generated from analysis of small samples are less generalizable than those from large samples, they found no empirical evidence to support the five to ten subjects to item ratio. In addition, Arrindell and van der Ende (1985), in their studies of stability of factors as a function of subjects-to-variables ratio, concluded that observations-to-variables ratio had no effect on factor stability. See Table 1 for items and specific factor loadings.

Descriptive analysis found that the demographic profile for this study was similar to previous studies conducted on

family caregivers (Bedini, & Phoenix 2004; Center for Disease Control, 2005; Scharlach, Gustavson, & Dal Santo, 2007). The average respondent (n=105) was female (85.4%), white (75.6%), and an average of 60 years old with a range of 32 to 87 years of age. Two-thirds (65.9%) of the respondents were married or partnered. Over a third of the respondents (36.0%) had a minimum of a four-year college degree, while 64.0% had less than a four-year degree. Only 29.5% of the respondents were employed full-time. Approximately one third of the respondents (34.6%) reported having to give up a job when they became caregivers. Fewer than half of the respondents (44.1%) indicated their household annual income was less than $25,000, while 39.7 % had an annual household income of $25,000 to $49,999, and 16.2% had incomes of $50,000 or more. Roughly one quarter of the respondents (25.6%) cared for a spouse or partner, while 59.7% cared for a parent or parent-in-law. The average age of the care-recipients was 79 years old, with a range of 40 to 97 years of age. Roughly two thirds of the respondents (61.7%) lived with their care-recipients. The most common disability for the care-recipients was Alzheimer's disease or dementia (48.1%). Other disabling conditions included cerebrovascular accident, heart disease, Parkinson's disease, and cancer. The care-recipients' level of care ranged from level one (requires little assistance, 13.0%) to level four (requires constant assistance, 48.0%). Forty-eight percent of the respondents themselves provided care for their care-recipient more than 40 hours per week, while almost half (48.6%)

Table 1. Sample Items and Factor Loadings of Service Provision

Service Provision Factor (Cronbach's alpha = .80)	Factor Loadings
I would travel more if I knew more accessible services.	.713
I would travel more with my care-recipient if there were more accessible services.	.704
My care-recipient and I do not travel because of lack of accessible transportation.	.650
I do not travel with my care-recipient b/c I am worried that the accommodations are not accessible.	.591
I do not travel much because of lack of knowledge of travel opportunities.	.563
I would take my care-recipient on guided vacations if they moved at slower paces.	.507
Travel service providers lack the skills to meet the needs of my care-recipient.	.478
When I travel I do not enjoy myself because I am worried about the care-recipient care is receiving in my absence.	.451
I will not stay/visit accommodations that are not accessible when I travel with my care-recipient.	.379

received less than 10 hours of help/support each week.

With reference to their interest in leisure and pleasure travel, over 90% of the respondents stated that they had "some" to "great" interest in recreation and leisure travel. In addition, 49.3% stated that they had to give up travel because of their caregiving responsibilities. An additional 12% stated that they could pursue travel only if they took their care-recipients with them. Over one-third of the respondents (35%) stated that they engaged in no leisure travel at all with their care-recipient. Results from individual item mean scores ("4" representing "strongly agree" and "1" representing "strongly disagree") suggested that the responding caregivers greatly missed their travel (M=3.38). In addition, these respondents indicated that when they did travel with a care-recipient, their enjoyment was compromised. Results indicated that the respondents felt they did not have much freedom when they traveled with their care-recipients (M=3.33), often did not travel with their care-recipient because of the stress they encountered (M=2.93), and felt guilty if they were to travel without their care-recipient (M=2.89). Finally, results showed that caregiver respondents stated that they chose to stay closer to home when traveling with their care-recipients (M=3.06).

Caregiver respondents identified frustration from lack of energy to enjoy the trip for both the care-recipient (M=3.15), and for themselves (M=2.99). Specifically related to the travel industry, respondents noted that they would not stay at or visit accommodations that were not accessible when they travel with the care-recipient (M=3.04), they worried about care for the care-recipient when they traveled (M=2.99), and they would travel more if they had someone to care for their care-recipients (M=3.01).

Independent t-tests and ANOVAs were run to determine if there were statistically significant differences for the Service Provision factor and relevant demographic profile variables. The demographics that indicated differences with regard to service provision as a constraint to caregivers' leisure travel suggested that the problems identified spanned across various populations and conditions. As might be expected, results showed that service provision was a significant constraint to leisure travel for those respondents who had a household income of less than $25,000 ($p = .008$). Also, issues of service provision posed a substantial constraint to respondents whose care-recipients required constant care and assistance ($p = .004$). Less

intuitive, however, was the result that indicated that "non-white" caregivers experienced greater constraints to their leisure travel regarding service provision than white respondents ($p = .03$). There were no other significant differences between Service Provision factor and the remaining demographic variables.

Discussion

The results of this study indicated that service provided by travel industry employees is a significant constraint to leisure travel for family caregivers and thus, fits within the interpersonal constraints category of Crawford et al.'s constraints model (1991). Supported by the literature, the results also suggested that leisure travel is not only important to family caregivers, but that they miss the leisure travel they have given up due to their caregiving responsibilities. Results also showed, however, that there were several compromising issues in both traveling with a dependent care-recipient and in traveling without their loved one. With the projected growth in the number of baby boomers who not only will be entering the mature travel market over the next 10-20 years, but also potentially becoming family caregivers, it is important for the travel industry to begin to address the travel needs of this untapped market now.

Based on this study's results, there are two primary areas that must be addressed in order to capture this unique travel market: the accessibility of travel facilities and services and the training of travel personnel to interact with and meet the needs of family caregivers appropriately. Addressing both of these areas of concern can influence the marketing strategies used to reach the family caregivers market.

The challenges to service providers in terms of family caregivers include more than merely providing the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) mandated physically accessible facilities and services. In addition to providing physically accessible facilities and services, the results showed that much of the need lies in travel professionals being sensitive when providing services to meet the emotional and safety needs of family caregivers and their care-recipients.

Considering first the composition of the Service Provision factor, five of the nine items dealt specifically with physical and/or service accessibility issues. Since the average age of family caregivers was 60 years and that of the care-recipients was 79 years, travel service providers

should consider exceeding the minimal standards required by regulations and laws (e.g., ADA) in designing and renovating the physical accessibility of travel-related facilities and services. In situations where physical accessibility is not possible (i.e., historic site, rugged terrain), Goodall, Pottinger, Dixon, and Russell (2005) suggested exploring alternative methods to experience the site or activity intellectually. This could include the use of interpretation, video, virtual reality technology, and other forms of technology.

Perhaps one of the most important issues raised by these results is the strong indication that respondents choose to stay closer to home when traveling with their care-recipient (M = 3.06). This behavior likely is linked to the above insecurities about how physically accessible a travel venue is. In addition, the results pointed to worry and stress, as well as lack of energy for both the caregiver and the care-recipient, which in turn may restrict duration and distance to travel.

In addition, results of this study indicated that the Service Provision constraint was experienced more by respondents who had a household income of less than $25,000. This segment of the caregiver market may be more likely to stay near home or suspend travel altogether. Additional costs required for their care-recipients as well as increased cost of air travel also may restrict their travel opportunities. Today's economic climate, coupled with the increased costs of necessary household expenses (e.g., prescription drugs, groceries, utility costs, etc.), also may serve as additional constraints. Under such circumstances, pleasure travel simply may not be a high priority.

Finally, results from this study indicated that specific elements of the travel experience had a significant contribution to the willingness of family caregivers to stay at or visit accommodations and or destinations. Challenges to the travel industry include improving the available knowledge of accessible and "disability sensitive" travel opportunities, consideration of the pace of guided vacations or outings, and establishing trust with the family caregiver market regarding the knowledge, skills, and sensitivity of the people providing travel services. Such actions by the travel industry may help alleviate the fear and lack of trust caregivers indicated having when traveling with their care-recipients. While the baby boomers and mature travel markets may have the time, desire, and financial resources to enjoy their travel over the next few decades, the fear and uncertainty

of travel with or without their care-recipient may have negative impacts on their personal travel decisions. Innovative solutions such as "assisted vacations" should be considered by the travel industry. Led by health care teams, one-week long programs of activities for caregivers (with and without care-recipient spouses) have been held in hotels or rehabilitation centers. Research on these "vacations" found that they have an immediate as well as long term ability to reduce physical complaints and symptoms of depression in spousal caregivers (Wilz & Fink-Heitz, 2008).

More significantly, however, other items in the Service Provision factor, "I would take my care-recipient on guided vacations if they moved at slower paces," "travel service providers lack the skills to meet the needs of my care-recipient," and "I do not travel much because of lack of knowledge of travel opportunities" address the skills of the service providers in terms of knowledge of these populations' (people with disabilities and family caregivers) travel needs. Israeli (2002) further indicated that serving non-traditional populations does not come naturally to most people in the tourism and hospitality industry. This could be due the staff's lack of knowledge regarding the travel needs of family caregivers who travel with people with disabilities or simply lack of familiarity with the population of people who have a disability. Mactavish et al. (2007) suggested that information accuracy and planning assistance are essential to accommodating families of individuals with disabilities. The lack of skills for the service providers is due to the service providers simply not knowing what information is important to this market (Daniels, Rodgers, & Wiggins 2005; McKercher, Packer, Yau, & Lam 2003). Some agencies are attempting to address these issues through appropriate trainings. For example, the American Byways Resource Center conducted a self-evaluation titled, *Accessibility Byways Training Initiative, 2009*. This is the exception rather than the rule, however, and much more needs to be done to address the issues identified here.

Perhaps most relevant, however, was the finding which indicated the importance of travel service personnel establishing trust with the family caregiver market regarding the service personnel's knowledge, skills, and sensitivity to specific populations. Consistent with the category of intrapersonal constraints (Crawford et al., 1991), results showed that many of the family caregivers who responded felt as if they did not have much freedom and experienced stress

and worry when they travel with their care-recipient and thus tended to stay closer to home. If they traveled alone, many expressed feelings of guilt coupled with an indication of a desire to travel if someone were able to care for their care-recipient. These results emphasize that travel-related service providers need to work with family caregivers "to facilitate psychologically, as well as physically safe and comfortable environments within which caregivers and their recipients can pursue their leisure travel" (Bedini & Gladwell, 2006, p. 332).

In addition, tourism service providers must ensure that their staffs have relevant and appropriate training and information to meet many of the needs of people with disabilities and their caregivers. For example, hotels, airlines, and motor coach lines should consider the transportation needs of individuals who use a wheelchair or walker, not only with logistics such as a van lift, but also when establishing the actual distance, pace, and the length of time required to prepare for and complete an excursion. Such examples may have a direct impact on a caregiver's decisions related to travel (e.g., where to go, what to do, or whether to travel or not). Ray and Ryder (2003, p. 68) stated:

Those hospitality and tourism operators who do attempt to attract the disabled need to know 'what they are getting themselves in for'. As mentioned by Guzzman (1999), extra time is often needed for each customer, and additional specialized equipment may have to be stocked. With the hearing-impaired community, interpreters would have to be hired, with maybe more than one sign language (in the case of multiple nationalities) needing interpretation.

Service providers need to consider innovative ways to market the presence of access, safety, and understanding to these potential visitors in all venues. Israeli (2002) suggested that evaluating a potential tourism site is comparable to the decision making process: "In decision-making terminology, a tourist (decision maker) has an objective of enjoying a tourist attraction; he or she evaluates sites (alternatives) that are characterized by factors (attributes) and selects the one that serves his or her objective in the best manner" (p. 101-102). Since family caregivers are often the decision makers for both their care-recipient and themselves, service providers need to provide comprehensive and accurate information to these potential customers about site accessibility, local health care providers, physical and mental requirements to participate in activities, and other non-

physical attributes that would be of interest. This information, as well as other traditional promotional information, should be easy for the caregiver and care-recipient to access and utilize. Including such information in marketing materials may influence caregivers' travel decisions positively. For example, travel opportunities that provide trusted and qualified care or assistance for the care-recipient may aid in reducing these feelings of apprehension on the part of the family caregiver. This is particularly important since approximately 90 % of the respondents indicated they had interest in recreation/leisure travel. Similarly, for marketing, brochures can be developed in Braille, larger print, or in an audio format (Goodall, Pottinger, Dixon, & Russell 2005). Websites and electronic media can be developed to illustrate accessibility and amenities designed specifically for travelers with disabilities and their caregivers. In summary, provision of accessible travel facilities and services should be viewed as part of standard service delivery and not as an additional revenue source.

LIMITATIONS

This study was not without limitations, however. The first limitation of the current study was the lack of diversity in the sample. This group of respondents was predominantly white and female. This clearly over-represents the primary demographic attribute of sex and may have influenced the results to some degree. Female respondents constituted 85.4 % of this study, while according to the National Alliance for Caregiving and AARP (2004), women comprise 61% of all family caregivers in the United States. With regard to race, when compared to the National Alliance for Caregiving and AARP (2004) data, whites and African-Americans were slightly over represented, while Hispanics and Asians were underrepresented. The second limitation was the low response rate. A larger response rate would allow for greater generalization of the findings.

To confirm the results found here, there are several recommendations for future study. First, it is important to replicate this study with a larger and more representative sample. In fact, because family caregivers are often burdened with a lack of unobligated time, consideration should be given to using qualitative methods in order to obtain more in-depth information about these issues. In addition, since caregivers' travel often includes their care-recipients, future research should focus on a better understanding of the physical, social, and

psychological needs of the care-recipient based upon their specific conditions and/or disease/s to aid travel providers in offering the travel facilities and services which could reduce or eliminate specific potential travel constraints. Research also should examine specific factors and constraints that may impact caregivers' decisions related to traveling for pleasure (e.g., whether to travel or not, where to travel, mode of transportation). Finally, while research has addressed the mature, disabled, and baby boomer travel markets individually, the family caregiver market (which represents a combination of these three individual markets) is a unique and quickly growing market that should not be ignored. With this said, research is needed to determine what type of travel information that could positively influence the caregiver's decision-making regarding traveling for pleasure.

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